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ABSTRACT

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Framing Women's Health with a Sense-making Approach: Magazine Coverage of Breast Cancer and Implants*

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ABSTRACT

Reframing Media Coverage of Women's Health: Magazine Reports on Breast Cancer and Implants in the 1990s

This study examined how women's magazines covered breast cancer and implants, considering whether information focused on social or economic issues, extending similar research on newspaper coverage. Traditional and computerized content analysis methods were used to determine the issues, sources, and frames appearing in four magazines. The sources used and the frames that emerged suggested that magazines presented breast cancer in ways compatible with a sense-making approach, though the same was not true for breast implants.

Reframing Media Coverage of Women's Health: Magazine Reports on Breast Cancer and Implants in the 1990s

Earlier this year, Dr. Gro Harlem Brundtland, the former Prime Minister of Norway and long-time Cabinet minister, was appointed director of the World Health Organization (W.H.O.). She is the first woman to head the Geneva-based organization and believes no field of medicine is closer to politics than public health. Furthermore, women's health issues are of particular concern, and Brundtland is relying on the news media to play a key role in heightening awareness of women's health issues in the new millennium.[1]

The news media are charged with covering issues in a fair, balanced, and informative manner. More importantly, the news media are central to formulating public opinion and setting the public agenda on issues affecting large segments of the population, including women. According to Parrott, however, there is constant tension between serving the social versus the economic health and well-being of people.[2] In news, because resources are scarce, decisions must be made about what stories to cover and how they are to be presented. The notion of news "framing" refers to selecting and emphasizing certain aspects of experience and ideas over others. For magazines, these aspects may include elements of drama and timeliness, which some critics argue are intended to increase profits rather than offer balance.[3]

In this paper, we will look at how selected women's magazines frame information concerning breast cancer and breast implants and consider whether these publications are targeted more toward the social versus the economic health of the community. Mass circulation magazines such as *Good Housekeeping*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, and *McCall's* regularly report medical news and encourage women to take active roles in decision making. Since many women may rely on such publications for health information, a need exists to analyze the ways in which these messages are framed.

The health issues of breast cancer and breast implants both involve medical conditions that primarily involve women. For this study, they were chosen to compare coverage of breast cancer, a disease afflicting women, with silicone breast implant disorders, afflictions that many believe women may have brought upon themselves. The silicone breast implant story came to light in 1990 when the media reported that some women were having problems with their implants. Previous studies analyzing newspaper coverage of breast implants indicated that most stories relied on official sources from implant manufacturers, presenting only one side of the health controversy,[4] and that women's voices were only marginal in the newspaper discourse.[5]

Also in 1990, estimates of breast cancer among U.S. women had jumped to one in 10.[6] In an earlier study of coverage of breast cancer, analyses of abstracts of media stories indicated the media were more attentive to shifting relationships and priorities within the health care industry than they were to the public interest, reflected in a steadily increasing breast cancer mortality rate.[7] To extend these lines of research, this study analyzed how the complete text of four women's magazines covered these two controversies from 1990-1997. The results are important because they address whether the medium that targets women covers their issues in a way that provides the public and its policy-makers with the type of information necessary for sound decision-making.

Literature Review

The need for critical thinking about women's health has become increasingly important. Social and behavioral scientists believe that women's health problems must be understood as socially, culturally, and economically produced. They are not isolated, individual events that can be explained outside the contexts in which they emerge. Ruzek, Clark, and Olesen state that the media often take women's health out of context and present unrealistic views of miracle cures and prematurely report progress of women's health issues. In addition, the media pay little attention to the downside of modern medicine such as treatments that may not work and treatments that may carry more risks than benefits or that contribute little to improved health conditions. They also contend that in this cultural context, rational and irrational beliefs about curing support large private and public investments in biomedicine.[8]

Economic interests support both the health industry and magazine publishers, and advertising affects magazine content. Research on advertising in women's magazines indicate that magazines that run more cigarette and alcohol advertisements publish fewer articles on the dangers of drugs and alcohol than those with fewer cigarette ads. A study of six women's magazines (including three studied here – *Good Housekeeping*, *McCall's*, and *Ms.*) found that, over a five-year period in the 1980s, the magazines published no articles on the dangers of smoking, although lung cancer surpassed breast cancer as the leading cause of cancer death in women.[9] Even *Ms.*, a mainstream feminist magazine that does not accept advertising that is considered offensive to women, has accepted cigarette ads in the past. But Ruzek states that silencing magazines aimed at women undermines health because American women get much of their health information from them.[10]

Others have studied the notion that news is written for the political and economic interests of men. For example, distinction has been drawn between hard news, which is serious, important, and masculine in nature, and soft news, which is more likely to be written by women reporters for women readers.[11] Hartley states that the majority of news stories are written by men about men's issues.[12] Holland adds there are two themes prominent in television news: excitement and seriousness, and are both based on masculine values.[13] Morley states this is why news is not one of women's favorite categories of television programming.[14] Holland concluded that because of the way women are represented in the news, it is not surprising that they believe this type of programming is not for them. Women pay little attention to news even though it is frequently in their presence.[15] Aside from the elements of drama and timeliness, mentioned above, however, women's magazines should not be as subject to this criticism as are other forms of media directed at general audiences.

Women's health

According to Davis, individuals are more likely to be persuaded by communications that emphasize how they will be negatively affected by the results of action or inaction.[16] However, women's medical problems are described by the media and understood as deviations from the norm.[17] Therefore, coverage of women's health issues in the media is influenced often by the medical community's need to promote itself. Corbett and Motomi found that the media were generally supportive of medical community activities and willing to follow their lead in changing emphases and priorities regarding breast cancer.[18] Likewise, Branstrom and Linblad found that public officials and medical staff were the initiators (sources) of story origin almost equal to the news agencies themselves. They asserted that news coverage contained "actors" (medical personnel or people of authority) that have a strong voice (influence) in press coverage. They also found that coverage tended to concentrate on the health project and information while neglecting women, children, and the elderly who were affected by the issue.[19]

Although little if any research has been conducted on news framing of breast cancer, early studies on media coverage of breast implants suggest that the media were biased against their use. Weimer, Concannou, Conn, and Puckett surveyed a group of women who all had breast implants. Using an open-ended questionnaire, the study emphasized concerns of women with breast implants and their experience with media information. Respondents perceived inadequacy in reporting by the media and described it as biased, sensational, and overgeneralized.[20] Anderson and Larson also examined patients' reactions to media coverage of breast implants. Results from the survey indicated respondents perceived that media coverage was strongly against the use of implants.[21]

Using content and narrative analyses, Vanderford and Smith found that the media relied on dramatic narratives that exploited an audience's identification with the victim. Their study of 64 articles in the *St. Petersburg Times* and 60 national network television evening news segments found that from 1991-1992, the primary focus of media stories was on women experiencing problems from their implants. This coverage was significantly greater in the print media, where "compelling narratives with full detail and human drama" generally depicted doctors and implant manufacturers in a bad light. The researchers concluded that sensational narrative forms portrayed dangers, trivialized the medical benefits, and portrayed rare problems that created negative perceptions of the silicone breast implants.[22] These narrative forms comprise some of the news frames surrounding breast implants.

Framing

The term "framing" has a long history in mass media research, and its meanings have been varied. Framing occurs as journalists "select some aspect of a perceived reality and make [it] more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described."[23] As Entman notes, frames in the media emerge as the presence or absence of certain key words, sources of information and sentences that form thematic clusters.[24] Mass media scholars have long argued that it is important to understand the ways in which journalistic framing of issues occurs because such framing impacts public understanding and, consequently, policy formation.[25] In the realm of health-policy formation, media framing may have a large impact on public health.[26] The way in which public health and/or risk issues are framed is particularly important because, through their style of presentation, "the media may affect the nature of regulation, the course of litigation, or the direction of research and development."[27]

The notion of story frame is taken from the work of Tuchman on the social construction of reality accomplished within media accounts.[28] Certain pieces of information are selected and put together within the specific genre constraints of a news story. These journalistic choices, made on the basis of news values as well as journalists' interpretations of responsibility to society, do have consequences. Through complex processes of interpretation, readers form impressions of the news stories' central theme/issue and attitudes toward the policy actors.[29] When journalists digest science and technology in their stories, people are more likely to understand complex issues than through their own direct personal experience. For the most part, the media are the public's only contact with technical fields. Journalists can be perceived as brokers, "framing social reality and shaping the public consciousness about science."[30] Through their representation of news stories, journalists suggest attitudes and opinions for the public. Thus, the media set the agenda for society and create the boundaries within which debate can take place.

The media tend to reinforce conventional definitions of health problems and hence they determine the legitimacy of the various solutions. As Winsten noted, news stories about medicine "may increase or diminish the willingness of individuals to present themselves for care, and raise expectations, and dash hopes, or may provoke alarm."[31] Nelkin posits that people assimilate media information about health-related issues in a variety of ways depending on their previous experiences, so media framing is important to the extent that it makes isolated incidents related in the form of public issues.[32]

Media coverage of controversial technologies has a tendency to highlight competing interests of the policy actors through disputed data and opposing judgments about the risks. When scientists are identified as one of the policy actors in a debate, they are perceived as "the source of authoritative evidence and definitive solutions."[33] However, if the media did not explore scientific issues involving health risk disputes or the methods of risk, the public would be left with little or no basis for making meaningful judgments about competing allegations made by different policy actors. Thus, medical professionals, including doctors and research scientists, are granted expert status in health risk conflicts such as the debate over the value of mammograms and the danger of silicone breast implants.

Source factors

This over-reliance on official sources and press releases is of particular importance in light of increasing criticisms of the media being out of touch with the issues that affect women. According to Tuchman, use of official sources and public relations efforts help satisfy the requirements of the strategic ritual of balance.[34] However, Swisher and Reese state that public relations workers exploit the objectivity routine by being "highly quotable and highly accessible."[35] Too often, sources are used to cite the facts without further investigation and to give credibility to what the reporter visualizes.[36] In this way, sources can help shape the frames that emerge about the topic. Entman posits that "the frame in the news is really the imprint of power – it registers the identity of actors or interests that competed to dominate the text."[37]

Powers and Fico found that despite the availability of numerous information sources, journalists' decisions to use them may be patterned by influences other than concerns for audience needs or adherence to professional norms. Results from a survey of journalists from the top 21 circulation newspapers indicated that news content was found to be most powerfully shaped by journalists' own orientation toward key source qualities. The personal judgments of journalists assessed in the study had the most powerful and numerous influences on the selection of sources in both routine and conflict situations.[38] Tuchman believes reporters consider official sources such as committee chairpersons to be in positions to know more than other people in the organization.[39] According to Sigal, such beliefs have resulted in a lack of diversity in sources.[40]

Furthermore, research indicates that men far outnumber women as newsmakers and as sources in news stories. A study of network news programs in 1984 found that about one out of seven on-camera sources were women.[41] Because women do not hold as many prominent position in society as do men, their lack of status as experts makes it more difficult for the news media to include them in coverage. However, the selection of particular sources in news stories is what gives the story its frame. While news organizations claim balance and objectivity in their reporting, they do not claim to balance the viewpoints of both men and women.[42]

A Sense-Making Approach

The key assumption of a sense-making approach states that gaps exist between what one group views as real and what another group experiences. A sense-making approach requires that these gaps close and what one group experiences is realized, accepted, and communicated by the other group. According to the sense-making framework, the media contribute to gaps of knowledge with information that is not included in coverage. For example, the media overlook the importance of social support networks such as family, friends, and support groups. These are often discounted because they do not involve the use of medical technology or drug therapy and may reduce the need for such treatment. Therefore, the promotion of social support may not benefit anyone in the environment other than women.[43]

Another gap in messages communicated includes overlooking what women may have already learned about their reproductive health, such as menopause is a deficiency or that abortions are life-threatening. A lack of understanding of facts and procedures will keep women from making informed decisions on their health.[44] In the case of breast implants, for example, many studies, funded in part by the implant manufacturers, found no link between implants and disease. The heavy reporting of this aspect of the controversy may have prevented some women from seeking the help that they needed.

More promotion of self-efficacy in the media is also important in a sense-making approach to communicating about women's health. Self-efficacy is the belief that women can exert control over their motivation, behavior, and social environment. If women know they have control over their environment and that there are agencies available to help them, then there is a greater likelihood that they will benefit from the media concerning their health and take action.[45]

The use of a women-centered "sense-making" approach – including (1) the use of a variety of sources, (2) the inclusion of facts from all sides of an issue, and (3) the inclusion of information promoting self-efficacy – may provide women and the public with a better understanding of their health and decision-making behavior. According to Parrott, the identification of linguistic discontinuities or gaps in communication between campaigners' and audience's experiences is critical to the success or failure of communicating with women. In this light, the following research questions were addressed: What issues do women's magazines address concerning breast implants and breast cancer? What types of sources are used in reporting such stories? How many sources are used in reporting such stories? What frames emerge from magazine stories on breast cancer? What frames emerge from magazine stories on breast implants?

Method

Because the purpose of this study was to examine women's magazine coverage of breast cancer and implants during the 1990s, four women's magazines were selected for analysis – *Good Housekeeping*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *McCall's*, and *Ms.* These magazines were chosen because they are among the circulation leaders in the women's magazines categories, with each targeting a slightly different segment of the audience. These years were chosen because significant events and findings occurred during this period that related to both breast implants and breast cancer. *Ms.* magazine does not have one of the highest circulation rates, but it was included because it does not accept advertising and thus should have less influence from economic interests. *Good Housekeeping*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, and *McCall's* each have a circulation of about 5 million, with readers averaging about age 40, more than half of whom work outside the home.[46] These three magazines appear fairly representative of the women's magazine market, with most content focusing on fashion, health, food, child-rearing, relationships, and beauty. *Ms.*, aimed at a more feminist audience than the mainstream magazines, has a much smaller circulation of about 250,000.[47] The articles analyzed in this study include all of those listed in the *Readers' Guide to Periodicals* from 1990 to 1997 under the headings "breast cancer" and "breast implants" for these four magazines. Each article was copied and examined in its entirety.

Two content analysis methods were used to conduct this study. Traditional content analysis was used to identify the main issues addressed and the number and type of sources used in the articles. The unit of analysis was the magazine article. Two coders were used to analyze each story. After a pretest, the level of intercoder agreement was 98 percent. Chi-squares were used to identify whether or not differences in coverage and sources existed among the women's magazines.

Then a computer-assisted content analysis program was used to determine the frames in coverage. The magazine articles were placed in two computer-readable files, one for breast cancer and one for implants. Both files were formatted for analysis in VBPro, a content analysis program that calculates frequency of all terms in the stories. The researchers then select representative key terms based on a reading of the articles' content; the VBPro program then groups these selected terms together based on their co-occurrence within articles to illustrate the frames in the coverage.[48] For example, if terms such as "mammogram" and "radiation" often appear together in some articles but not in others, the program will likely cluster them together. Of the most frequently occurring terms in the breast cancer articles, 120 were selected that were unambiguous ("right" would not be unambiguous because it could refer either to the "right to choose implants" or "the right breast") and representative of the content of the magazine articles. Synonyms were grouped and coded as one term, such as *doctor, doctors, physician, physicians*. Coding synonyms together allows for a more comprehensive analysis of content; in the breast cancer articles, nearly 300 words were included in the analysis. The magazines were also coded so that any differences in the way they framed the issues would be apparent.

The content analysis program then produced unstandardized eigenvectors for each of the terms based on their co-occurrence within stories. These eigenvectors were cluster-analyzed in SPSS to group the terms in order to determine frames appearing in the coverage, using hierarchical clustering with the cosine method. The eigenvectors for each cluster (frame) can then be used to plot the cluster in three-dimensional space to illustrate the relationships among frames. This process and its interpretation is discussed further below. The selection of terms and subsequent cluster analysis were conducted separately on the breast cancer and implant articles.

Results

A total of 86 magazine articles were analyzed: 26 were from *Ms.*; 22 were from *Ladies' Home Journal* (LHJ); 23 were from *Good Housekeeping* (GH), and 15 were from *McCall's*. The authors of the articles included five males and 68 females. In 13 articles, the sex of the author was not identified. Five major story issues were identified in the articles. Because only 12 articles discussed breast implants, they were included in their own category. The other categories identified were personal cancer stories, new cancer drug treatments, cancer prevention, and other. The other category included stories such as cancer discrimination and cancer causes. Of the 86 articles, 12 concerned breast implants, 23 concerned personal cancer stories, 13 concerned new cancer drug treatments, 32 concerned cancer prevention, and 6 concerned other issues. Overall, 35 physicians were interviewed for these stories; 43 patients were interviewed; 32 supportive figures including family members and members of support groups were interviewed, and 25 others were interviewed.

The main issues of stories varied significantly according to the magazine (X^2=26.24; df=4; p<.0001). Table 1 indicates that *Ms.* was more likely to cover stories on silicone breast implants than any of the other magazines. Seven implant stories were from *Ms.*; 2 were from both LHJ and GH, and 1 was from *McCall's*. *Ms.* covered fewer personal cancer stories than the other women's magazines. Only 2 such stories were from *Ms.*; 7 were from LHJ; 8 were from GH, and 6 were from *McCall's*. Coverage of new cancer treatments was similar in *Ms.* and two other magazines. Coverage included 4 in *Ms.*; 5 in LHJ; 3 in GH, and only 1 in *McCall's*. Coverage of cancer prevention was similar among magazines. Both *Ms.* and LHJ carried 8 stories; GH carried 10, while *McCall's* carried 6.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

The number and type of sources interviewed also varied according to magazine. For the number of sources used, the magazines were significantly different (X^2=88.77; df=14; p<.0001). Table 2 indicates that GH interviewed the most sources (n=23); *Ms.* interviewed 22; LHJ interviewed 21, while *McCall's* interviewed only 14. A series of chi-squares was performed to determine whether the magazines differed significantly in their use of various types of sources. There were highly significant differences for each type of source, with each analysis indicating significance at the p<.0001 level. Table 2 indicates that GH interviewed the most patients (n=13) while *Ms.* interviewed the least (n=7). GH interviewed the most physicians (n=16), while *Ms.* and *McCall's* interviewed the least (n=11). People supportive of cancer patients were interviewed most by *Ms.* (n=10) and least by both LHJ and GH (n=3).

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

Examining Frames

To answer the research questions on how breast cancer and breast implants were framed, key terms from the magazine articles were grouped into frames with the use of the co-occurrence matrix and cluster analysis described above. These frames were then mapped in three dimensions based on their unstandardized eigenvectors to illustrate how frames were related. The magazines' eigenvectors were also produced, allowing them to be placed on the map. The analysis suggests distinctly different portrayals of cancer and implants, as well as a large variation among the magazines in terms of how these issues were discussed.

For articles on breast cancer, 13 frames emerged from the data. (See Table 3.) These frames reflect the topics associated with breast cancer in the articles, ranging from performing breast self-examinations to news about recent studies to critical views on environmental pollutants and their role in causing cancer. In general, the frames fell into three larger themes – basic information breast cancer and its treatment; research on breast cancer's causes and prevention; and personal stories of cancer survivors or their relatives. These themes were closely associated with different magazines.

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

To facilitate understanding of the breast cancer frames, discussion will now focus on the frame map shown in Figure 1. The map shows the relationship among frames appearing in the magazine coverage and how those frames are associated with the four magazines. The axes in the center of the map, which can be read as standard *x* and *y* axes, serve to simplify interpretation because (for example) concepts appearing to the right of the vertical axis (*y*) have positive second eigenvectors, indicating that they are somewhat related in terms of co-occurrence. The clusters look something like pins, and they should be envisioned as such to convey the three-dimensional nature of their interpretation. Thus, the closer the frames are on the map, the more closely related they were in magazine coverage. In this case, the concept map indicates a clear delineation between, for example, GH and LHJ on the second and third dimensions, with associated themes clustering near each.

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

Four frames describing the most basic information about breast cancer and its treatment were associated closely with GH. The frame Self-exams, which included such terms as biopsy, benign, physicians, and lumps, was nearest GH. Malignancy comprised terms referring to breasts, cysts, painful, and removal; in other words, it referred to what happens when a malignancy is discovered. A frame called Diagnosis was also near GH, and it reflected the terminology associated with mammography and detection of abnormalities associated with cancers. The fourth frame related to GH was Implants. This frame was composed of terms such as silicone, surgery, and mastectomy, which explained when women might have implants, as well as men and society, which appeared in the articles as reasons for choosing implants.

Cause and prevention of breast cancer was another general theme emerging from the magazine articles, and it appeared more nearly related to *Ms.* magazine than the others. Five frames formed this theme. In the center was Causes, a frame including terms such as alcohol, diet, hormones, and menopause. These were often listed in stories about cancer risk factors. Another related frame was Genetics, which detailed the hereditary aspects of breast cancer, especially the cancer gene BRCA1. Breast Cancer Research, a frame including the term breast cancer, health, and women, also discussed the National Cancer Institute and studies being conducted on estrogen-replacement therapy. Another frame, Carcinogens, was closely related to *Ms.*; it comprised terms such as DDT, environment and mortality rates, which reflected a number of articles *Ms.* published on how pollutants cause cancer. Finally, Tamoxifen – the drug being tested as a benefit for breast, endometrial, ovarian, and uterine cancer – appeared as a frame, because several articles discussed a controversial study involving healthy women with a history of cancer in their families.

The third general theme in the breast cancer coverage was that of personal accounts of how breast cancer affected women and their families. This theme was most closely associated with LHJ and *McCall's*. The frame Personal Stories included more terms than any other, reflecting not only the first-person nature of these articles but the emotions associated with them, such as anger and fear. Personal Stories also illustrated the support systems women relied upon – daughters, friends, mothers, and husband. Worry, a frame composed of help and worried, was very near Personal Stories. A frame called Pregnancy, with terms of baby, bodies, and birth, reflected several articles that discussed cancer survivors who went on to have children. The last frame in the cancer stories focused on Survival, including derivations of the word survive and news, drugs, and cancer. This frame was located almost closer to the basic information about breast cancer, but its negative third dimension made it part of the personal accounts theme.

Fifteen frames emerged from the breast implant articles. These frames are displayed in Table 4. Although the breast implant themes were not as clearly delineated as those from the breast cancer articles, three general themes were apparent in the implant articles. One theme was that of implants and their consequences. A second theme involved the factors that cause women to choose implants, and a third theme was a marginal one involving Bristol-Myers Squibb Corp. and the implant coverings that had been regulated. Discussion will focus on the first two frames, which were much more central to the discourse on implants, as can be seen in Figure 2.

TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE

FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE

The first general theme in breast implant coverage involved the consequences of implants. Not surprisingly, this topic was most closely associated with *Ms.*, which published more on implants than the other three magazines combined. Nine frames appear to comprise this theme, including both silicone and alternative implants.

Silicone Implants was the largest frame in the implant stories. It included terms describing the implant industry, such as Dow, man-made, and business, as well as those that referred to the problems with silicone implants – rheumatoid, leak, and rupture. This frame was located nearest Postmastectomy Health, composed of the terms healthy and mastectomy, and the two frames thus explained one reason for the implants and what happened if the implants failed. Research Findings, the third frame in the cluster surrounding *Ms.*, discussed both studies of autoimmune disorders that might result from implants, and lawsuits patients were beginning to file against Dow Corning. These concepts came together in one frame because the articles often mentioned the need to prove that implants caused the symptoms.

The Saline Implants frame offered information about other procedures, such as saline-filled implants and the TRAM flap, and their costs. It also contained terms that described the health problems these alternatives would alleviate – capsular contracture and lupus. A nearby frame called Bra comprised the word bra and variations of harden, which refers to silicone implants hardening. These two frames were closely related to Informed Choice, a frame that was emphasized in *Ms.* and included terms such as risk, alternative, and consent.

The three remaining frames in the implant consequences theme focused on women's stories about their implants. Central to this was the Personal Experiences frame (similar to the Personal Stories frame in breast cancer articles), reflecting the emotional consequences of implant problems with terms such as fear, horrified, and painful. The frame included terms describing a more limited support group than the cancer articles, this time focusing on husbands and boyfriends. Mammography and scarring composed the nearby frame Scars. The final frame in the theme was Plastic Surgery, which alluded to other reasons for implants than postmastectomy reconstruction.

Four frames comprising the theme of factors that influenced women to choose implants were located near *McCall's*. Media Images included breast size (e.g., flat-chested, curvaceous), culture and society, and terms associated with one aspect of women's self-confidence, such as desirable, sexy, and beautiful. The next frame was Causes, which consisted of variations of the word cause, and average.

This was closely related to Ideal Women, composed of the terms ideal, perfect, and women. Finally, the Marketing frame focused on regulation and safety.

Discussion and Conclusion

Women's health issues have received increasing prominence in the mass media during the 1990s, and research suggests the media have played a key role in raising the consciousness of women concerning their health. However, some critics question whether the media frame the issues to conform to dominant values and representation rather than meet the needs of women.[49] The purpose of this study was to provide a systematic study of women's magazine coverage of two health issues of special concern to women during this decade, breast implants and breast cancer.

Overall findings indicate that the women's magazines in this study support a women-centered approach to covering these issues, especially related to breast cancer. The largest number of stories in the sample concerned the issue of cancer prevention and provided very specific information on steps for women to take. In addition, the type of sources used in these stories highlighted the importance of support groups and family members in the recovery process for women. It was surprising to note, however, that while hundreds of articles on breast implants appeared in newspapers during the 1990s, only 12 articles appeared in these four magazines, and most of them appeared in *Ms*. This indicates a hesitancy on the part of these magazines to frame this subject in a way that related to women and in a way that differed from newspapers' framing on the legalities and the profits of this controversy.

Breast cancer articles framed the disease in three general themes – coping with disease and its affects, personal experiences, and risk factors involved in cancer. The articles about diagnosing and dealing with breast cancer offered advice on how women can be more assertive about testing if they fear a lump may be malignant. For example, *McCall's* published an article titled "Breast Lumps: News You Need Now"[50] and *Good Housekeeping* included a story titled "Is Your Breast Exam Good Enough?";[51] these kinds of articles encourage women to be proactive with their health care and not merely to trust their physicians unquestioningly. Similarly, most of the articles about cancer causes offered information on ways that women could reduce their risk factors, such as "Breast Cancer Prevention: Diet Vs. Drugs" in *Ms.*[52] and *Good Housekeeping*'s "Your Best Self-Defense Against Breast Cancer."[53] *Ms.* packed a special section with information on risk factors, including "The Environmental Link to Breast Cancer."[54] Even if women could not avoid the breast-cancer genes or environmental causes, they learned that they need to be extra vigilant about their breast exams. Such coverage helps to fill gaps in information that may exist in other media because the magazines are intended specifically for women readers.

Perhaps the most important frame in the cancer coverage, however, was that of women's personal stories. In terms of sense-making, this frame offered hope to alleviate some of the fears that may be generated by the other articles. Reading of women's survival may encourage some frightened readers to examine their breasts or have mammographies. Indeed, these women's magazines often discussed survival from a personal point of view ("How Breast Cancer Didn't Change My Life"[55]; "I'm Still Here"[56]). This is not to say that personal accounts were separated from the other themes in cancer coverage, because this frame often included elements of risk factors, diagnosis, or the decision to have a mastectomy versus a lumpectomy. Still, presenting these issues in first-person stories might be more encouraging to women than the impersonal reports inherent in the other themes.

Personal experiences were not as central to the discourse in implant coverage. This frame was only part of a much larger theme that spoke largely – and impersonally – on the problems with, and alternatives to, silicone breast implants. Only one article was published on a woman's personal experience with breast implants, "My Twenty-Year Nightmare,"[57] and *Ladies' Home Journal* printed that under a pseudonym. Several articles included women with implants as sources. This comparative lack of personal discussion suggests that the implant industry had a substantial impact on the magazines' coverage, with the exception of *Ms.*, which does not accept advertising. Dow Corning, for example, was the largest producer of silicone implants; Dow has a number of subsidiaries that produce household cleaners and other products heavily advertised in mainstream women's magazines. This study did not examine the relationship between editorial and advertising content, however, which should be considered in future research.

The larger themes in implant articles pertained to economic concerns, both of the medical industry and the media. The frames associated with silicone and saline implants focused in part on the manufacturers and the costs of implant alternatives. Stories such as "Better Implants,"[58] which ran in *Ladies' Home Journal* prior to the silicone breast implant controversy of 1991-92, suggest that the magazines were not averse to favorable coverage early on. Indeed, even after the Food and Drug Administration hearings on silicone implants revealed their dangers, the titles of articles on this topic were notably positive ("Breast Implants – The News Now,"[59] "Comment on Breast Implants"[60]) and so was most of the content. Granted, the articles did describe the health problems associated with implants, but they did not examine why those implants were allowed on the market and the FDA's role in testing them. Even the most damaging article – "The Danger of Implants"[61] – began with the innocuous sentence "Women seeking breast implants are running out of options," rather than questioning why women might seek implants or charging the manufacturers with negligence. This suggests a strong economic influence on editorial content.

The magazines emphasized that, despite the risks of implants, they should be available for women who wanted them – provided that women were informed of those risks. A number of articles appeared on alternatives to the silicone implant, such as "Alternatives: Know the Risks"[62] in a 1996 issue of *Ms*. Although articles that informed women about safer alternatives to silicone and the risks of various reconstructive procedures are useful in helping women make decisions, the magazines presented a somewhat contradictory message with another theme. Explanations for women's desire for implants despite their obvious dangers focused on society's idealization of large breasts as sexy. The magazines criticized this phenomenon in articles such as "Why Women Want Man-Made Breasts"[63] in *McCall's* and "Beauty and the Breast"[64] in *Ms*. These discussed the trend of thin models with unnaturally large breasts in advertising as a negative message to women. The magazines did not offer ways in which women could resist such images, however. And, although it was beyond the scope of this study, the illustrations accompanying these articles on both cancer and implants regularly featured the naked torsos of fit women who were clearly younger than the magazine's average readership demographic of early forties. This practice sends a mixed message to women who wish to appreciate their bodies without regard for societal standards.

The findings of this study suggest that women's magazines present more useful, more complete, and more socially conscious information about breast cancer than about breast implants. These magazines' coverage of cancer offered women and their families hope and comprehensive information with which to fight the disease. Nonetheless, the coverage did not reflect the interests of all women. African-American women are more likely than white women to have breast cancer and to die from it, yet only one article discussed this fact. A glance at the illustrations accompanying the articles studied indicates that only one woman of color was pictured. Given the disparity in incidence rates, future research needs to examine whether magazines aimed at women of color presented any different coverage than these mainstream magazines.

Overall, a sense-making approach to covering women's health issues requires the media to go beyond reporting new medical procedures and economic considerations to contextualizing information in a way that provides women with enough information to make informed decisions. This study indicates that magazines approached this level of coverage in stories concerning breast cancer. However, when it came to covering breast implants, a condition affecting more than 2.2 million women in the U.S.[65] – and many more when friends, relatives, and women still considering implants are included – only 12 articles in four magazines were published over a seven-year period, and seven of those articles appeared in *Ms.* alone. The articles that were written included less information concerning support groups and steps that women could take to help themselves, and more on why women chose to obtain implants and the regulation and safety of implants. Since the literature indicates that the mainstream of television and newspapers often fail to address issues meaningful to women, it is critical that media targeted for women pick up the slack, even for issues deemed controversial.

While this study analyzes only magazines, the next step is to compare magazine coverage with television and newspaper coverage. As we move toward more public awareness of women's health issues in the next decade, it is imperative that the media provide a comprehensive look at issues that affect their audiences. According to Brundtland, no field of medicine is in greater need of public scrutiny than that of women's health.[66] And there is no better institution to provide this scrutiny than the mass media, as they pursue the public service function of providing women and the general population with necessary information to make informed decisions.

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Table 1. Frequency of issues in magazine articles.

	Magazines				
Issues*	Ms.	LHJ	GH	McCall's	TOTAL
Cancer Prevention	8	8	10	6	32
Personal Cancer Stories	2	7	8	6	23
New Cancer Treatments	4	5	3	1	13
Breast Implants	7	2	2	1	12
Other	4	0	0	2	6
TOTAL	25	22	23	16	86

*X^2=26.24; df =4; p<.0001.

Table 2. Frequency of sources interviewed in magazine articles.

	Magazines				
Sources[a]	Ms.	LHJ	GH	McCall's	TOTAL
Physicians[b]	11	15	16	11	53
Patients[c]	7	12	13	10	42
Support[d]	10	3	3	9	25
Other[e]	10	5	7	7	29
TOTAL	22	21	23	14	80

[a] X^2 for number of sources by magazine is significant: X^2=88.77; df=14; p<.0001.
[b] X^2=109.12; df=9; p<.0001.
[c] X^2=133.44; df=6; p<.0001.
[d] X^2=162.09; df=5; p<.0001.
[e] X^2=197.26; df=5; p<.0001.

Table 3. Terms comprising frames in breast cancer stories.

Breast Cancer Research	breast cancer, breast cancers, data, disease, effective, effectiveness, estrogen, estrogen replacement, evidence, findings, fund, funding, funds, health, incidence, money, NCI, NCI's, prevent, prevention, preventive, prevents, research, researchers, risk, risks, scientists, studies, study, test, tested, tests, therapies, therapy, trial, trials, women, women's
Carcinogens	carcinogen, carcinogenic, chemical, chemicals, DDT, environment, environmental, mortality, pesticides, pollutants, rate, rates
Causes	alcohol, cause, causes, diet, dietary, eat, eating, factor, factors, fat, food, foods, fruit, fruits, hormonal, hormone, hormones, intake, low-fat, menopause, milk, postmenopausal, vegetables
Diagnosis	abnormal, abnormalities, abnormality, aggressive, atypical, cancers, curable, cure, DCIS, detect, detected, detection, diagnosed, diagnosis, ductal, lumpectomies, lumpectomy, mammogram, mammograms, mammography, medicine, mutation, patients, radiation, recommend, recommendation, recommends, recurrence, situ, spread
Genetics	BRCA1, BRCA2, experts, gene, genes, genetic, genetics, hereditary, inherited
Implants	alone, implant, implants, invasive, lymph, male, mastectomies, mastectomy, men, nodes, operation, silicone, society, surgeries, surgery
Malignancy	age, ages, breast, breasts, cancerous, common, cyst, cysts, malignancy, malignant, menstrual, menstruate, menstruation, nipple, nipples, normal, pain, painful, problem, problems, removal, remove, removed, removing, skin, surgeon, surgeons, symptoms, tissue, tissues, typical, woman, woman's
Personal Stories	afraid, anger, angry, care, chemo, chemotherapy, children, choices, choose, daughter, daughters, decide, decided, decision, decisions, die, died, dying, emotional, emotionally, families, family, fear, fears, feeling, feelings, friend, friends, frightening, hair, hope, hospital, husband, I, I'd, I'm, I've, kids, life, lives, lose, loss, marriage, married, me, mom, mother, mother's, mothers, my, myself, option, options, reconstruct, reconstruction, reconstructive, scared, sister, sisters, support, talk, talking
Pregnancy	baby, birth, bodies, body, love, pregnancy, pregnant
Self-exams	benign, biopsied, biopsies, biopsy, BSE, doctor, doctors, exam, examination, examinations, examine, exams, fine-needle, lumps, medical, needle, physician, physicians, self-exam, self-examination, self-examinations, self-exams
Survival	cancer, drugs, news, survival, survive, survivor, survivors
Tamoxifen	benefit, benefits, blood, cervical, clinical, dead, death, deaths, drug, drug's, endometrial, healthy, history, inform, information, informed, ovarian, premenopausal, screen, screened, screening, Tamoxifen, Tamoxifen's, tumor, tumors, uterine, young, younger
Worry	help, worried, worry

Figure 1. Concept map of breast cancer stories, with magazine clusters shaded.

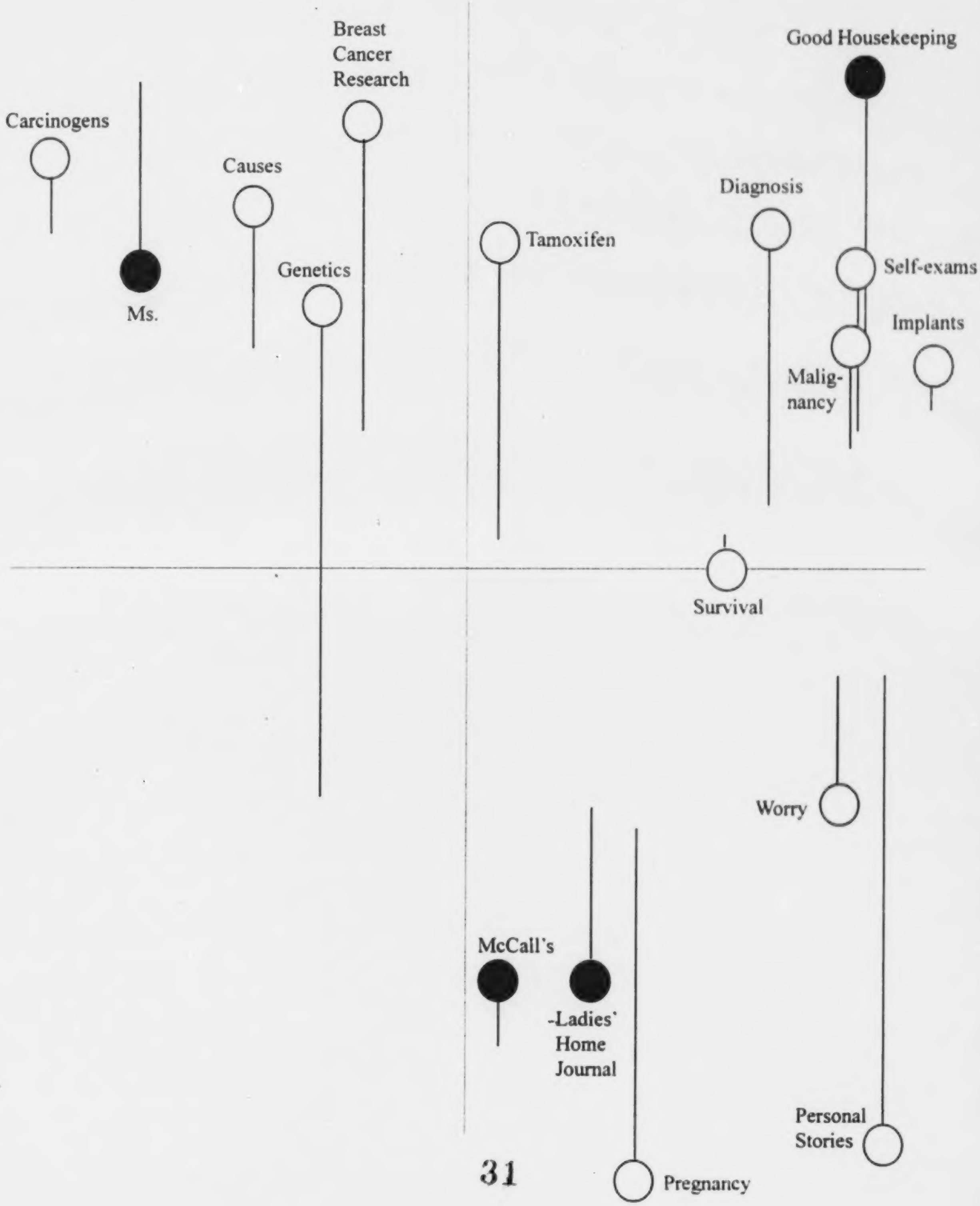
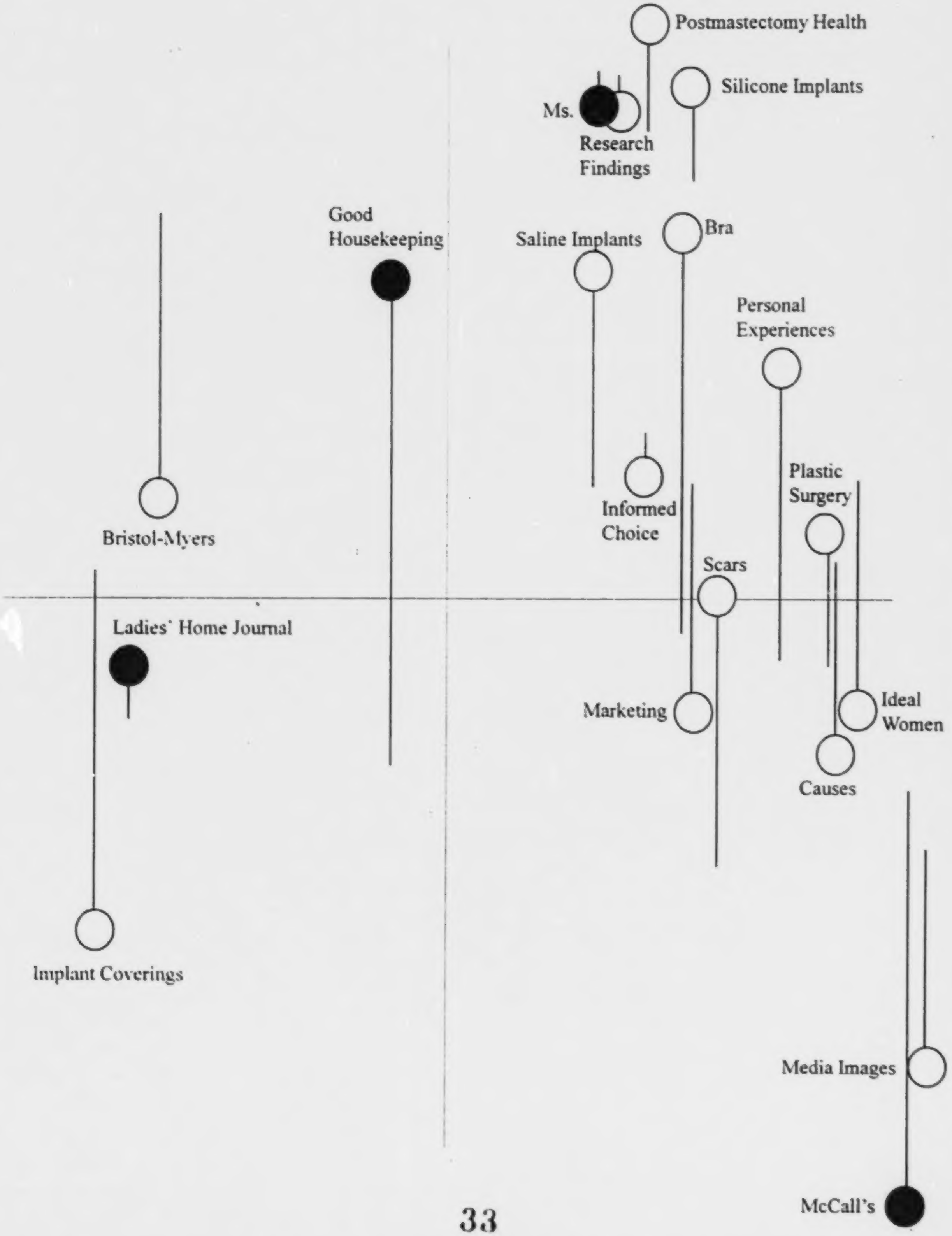

Breast Cancer Research
Good Housekeeping
Carcinogens
Causes
Diagnosis
Tamoxifen
Self-exams
Genetics
Ms.
Implants
Malig-nancy
Survival
Worry
McCall's
Ladies' Home Journal
Personal Stories
Pregnancy

Table 4. Terms comprising breast implant frames.

Bra	bra, braless, bras, hard, harden, hardening
Bristol-Myers	
Causes	average, cause, caused, causes, causing
Ideal Women	ideal, perfect, women, women's
Implant Coverings	foam, foam-coated, foam-covered, polyurethane, polyurethane-covered
Informed Choice	alternative, alternatives, cancer, carcinogen, choice, choose, chose, consent, decision, FDA, FDA's, information, informed, options, patients, reconstruction, reconstructive, risk, risks, risky
Marketing	market, marketing, regulate, regulation, safe, safety, sales
Media Images	advertisements, advertising, attractive, augmentation, augmented, beautiful, beauty, big, bigger, bodies, body, breast, breast augmentation, breasts, busty, cosmetic, culture, desirable, desirability, feel, feeling, flat, flat-chested, flat-chestedness, happy, image, images, large, larger, magazine, magazines, media, news, nipple, nipples, operation, operations, pleasure, pretty, self-confidence, sexier, sexual, sexy, small, small-breasted, society, surgeries, surgery, surgical, woman, woman's
Personal Experiences	bosom, boyfriend, chest, chests, complications, curvaceous, doctor, doctor's, doctors, examine, examined, examining, exams, fear, feared, horrible, horrified, horror, husband, I, I'd, I'm, I've, man, me, my, myself, pain, painful, physicians, problem, problems, shape, terrible
Plastic Surgery	models, plastic surgeon, plastic surgeons, plastic surgery, surgeon, surgeon's, surgeons
Postmastectomy Health	health, healthy, mastectomy, postmastectomy
Research Findings	attorneys, autoimmune, damage, damages, danger, dangerous, data, disease, diseases, disorder, disorders, evidence, experts, finding, findings, ill, illness, illnesses, immune, lawsuits, lawyers, liability, litigation, proof, prove, proved, proven, research, researchers, results, scientists, scleroderma, sick, studies, study, sue, suffer, suffered, suffering, suing, symptoms, testing, tests, trial, trials
Saline Implants	abdomen, abdominal, breast-fed, breast-feed, capsular, connective, connective-tissue, contracture, cost, costs, dollars, fee, fees, flap, loss, lupus, money, muscle, muscles, saline, saline-filled, saline implants, salt, saltwater, saltwater-filled, skin, tissue, TRAM, water
Scars	mammograms, mammography, scar, scarring, scars
Silicone Implants	bleed, breast implant, breast implants, business, companies, company, company's, Corning's, corporation, corporations, Dow, Dow's, explant, explanted, fluid, gel, implant, implant-related, implantation, implanted, implants, industrial, industry, inflammation, inflammatory, inject, injected, injection, injections, leak, leakage, leaked, leaking, liquid, man-made, manufactured, manufacturer, manufacturers, manufacturing, medical, prosthesis, removal, removed, rheumatoid, rheumatologist, rheumatology, rupture, ruptured, ruptures, silicone, silicone-covered, silicone-filled, silicone gel, silicone gel-filled, silicone gel-filled implants, silicone implants, silicone-related, silicone's, silicone-specific

Figure 2. Concept map of breast implant stories, with magazine clusters shaded.


Postmastectomy Health
Silicone Implants
Ms.
Research Findings
Good Housekeeping
Saline Implants
Bra
Personal Experiences
Bristol-Myers
Informed Choice
Plastic Surgery
Scars
Ladies' Home Journal
Marketing
Ideal Women
Causes
Implant Coverings
Media Images
McCall's

Running head: GENDER ROLES IN RUMPELSTILTSKIN

Gender Roles in Rumpelstiltskin: The Effect of Fantasy Portrayals on Real-Life Attitudes

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Abstract

This research explored to what extent 82 fourth graders would respond to gender roles stereotypically after having watched a heavily stereotyped film of Rumpelstiltskin compared to a newer, less stereotypical version. It was found that the 1965 group was more likely to reply that women were gentle and cried more often, while men got into fights, made most rules, and protected others than those who watched the 1986 version or who saw no film.

Gender Roles in Rumpelstiltskin: The Effect of Fantasy Portrayals on Real-Life Attitudes

Fairy tales are part of our cultural heritage and have been called a mirror of society. They have not only been of interest to folklorists, pedagogics, sociologists, and psychologists, but the feminist movement has brought a new consciousness regarding women's roles in literature and film (Roehrich, 1986; Kamenetsky, 1992). The feminist approach to fairy tales can be distinguished between two approaches (Kamenetsky, 1992). Swiss psychologist Dr. Marie-Louise von Franz (1993) has focused on the Jungian interpretation of fairy tales by identifying women as archetypes or as gender specific symbols with positive as well as negative connotations. The second approach is represented by researchers who point to the stereotypical gender connotations in fairy tales (e.g., Bottigheimer, 1986; Tatar, 1987).

The need for investigating the stereotypical portrayal of women in fairy tales lies, in part, in the prevalence and fondness for fairy tales. Children are the primary audience for fairy tales, and they still view tales, especially Grimms' fairy tales, as more satisfying than any other form of children's literature (Wardetzky, 1990; Danilewitz, 1991; Strayer, 1995). However, a change in medium from storybook to filmed adaptations has also taken place, with the filmed versions of fairy tales having been very successful (Kelley, 1994; Trousdale, 1989; Molloy, 1988).

While the filmed versions breathe color, life, and humor into the fairy tale characters, they may not, however, free the image of repressed and passive womanhood. Stereotypical portrayal of women in the media is of great concern because of the media's role in affecting our perceptions (Golombok & Fivush, 1994; Signorielli, 1989).

The conceptual framework for this study is based on the gender schema theory. Information on gender-specific skills or personality attributes are not only derived from family or peers but also from the media. Strongly held perceptions about culturally appropriate behaviors of the genders not only perpetuate prejudice and the expectancy of distinct behavioral differences based upon a person's gender, but can also limit our personal development (Golombok & Fivush, 1994).

The present study was part of a larger research project in which the 1965 live-feature fairy tale adaptation of Rumpelstiltskin by Kid Rhino and the 1986 version by The Cannon Group had been juxtaposed to examine to what extent the stereotypical role of the main character had changed during the past 21 years. The percentages and frequencies of that content analysis indicated that the miller's daughter was more likely to be portrayed stereotypically in the older version, but this difference was not statistically significant.

While studies (e.g., Greenberg, 1989; Baker, 1990) have looked at gender-typical portrayal of females in films, the role of filmed fairy tales in affecting children's formation of gender schemata has received very little attention. Thus, this study sought to expand our knowledge regarding the following questions. Are children's perceptions of gender roles influenced after having watched a fairy tale? Are children's responses toward sex-role stereotypes different after they have been exposed to the 1965 version compared to the 1986 version? Is there a difference between boys' and girls' responses? This study examined the following hypothesis and its specific components (also see Figure 1).

H: Children will be more likely to reveal stereotypical attitudes toward women after having watched Kid Rhino's 1965 version of Rumpelstiltskin compared to The Cannon Group's 1986 version.

A. It is predicted that children will be more likely to give stereotypical responses toward male and female traits after having viewed Kid Rhino's version when asked about what gender they associate with (a) gentleness, (b) aggressiveness/assertiveness, (c) emotionality/weakness, (d) dominance/autocracy, and (e) protectiveness/strongness.

B. It is predicted that children will be more likely to give stereotypical responses toward male and female division of labor after having viewed Kid Rhino's version compared to those children who have watched The Cannon Group's version.

Literature Review

When filmed fairy tale versions are examined, it must be remembered that they were adapted from the Grimm Brothers' collection of fairy tales. Therefore, the filmed versions may incorporate sex-role stereotypes, even the latter one which was produced in the 1980s, because of the sacred text approach, meaning, adapting literature to film as closely as possible. Ellis (1983), however, found that the brothers altered the texts, at times even rewriting the originally collected tales and injecting their own values and biases. In accordance with this view, Bottigheimer (1986) argued that, seen in the context of the time, the Grimms' fairy tales offered an innocent, yet suitable medium for transmitting and enforcing the norm of the silent woman in readers and listeners. Fairy tales are therefore seen as stories that "continually modernize themselves and replace older cultural features with more recent ones" (Roehrich, 1986, p. 4). Thus, it is difficult, if not impossible, to proclaim a fairy tale as its original version at any given time in history.

It appears, however, that the Cinderella-style fairy tales have served to acculturate women into traditional roles (Zipes, 1988). In an analysis of 80 fairy tales, Bierhoff-Alfermann, Brandt, and Dittel (1982) found no differences in terms of helpfulness, cruelty and evilness/goodness between males and females. However, descriptions of the females' physical appearance were common, and females were less often described in terms of the intellectual and the instrumental domain than males.

Likewise, Dowling's The Cinderella Complex (1981) implies that the repressed female character in popular fairy tales reinforces restrictive images of girlhood and womanhood. Thus, the Cinderella-style tales contribute to women's negative self-image and to the limited definitions of their identities, as fairy tales present a world where women's prime reason for existence lies in their relationship with men (O'Connor, 1989).

One important counter-influence to this trend of thinking has been research that supported Bettelheim's (1977) claim on the meaningfulness and thought-provoking effect of fairy tales. Crain, D'Alessio, McIntyre, and Smoke (1983) found that those children who had heard or seen a fairy tale played in a very subdued and self-absorbing manner and "seemed lost in their own thoughts" (p. 13), whereas Trousdale (1989) concluded that filmed adaptations of fairy tales may provide children with positive and cognitively engaging experiences if the viewings are accompanied by discussion.

Likewise, after conducting a study with 21 third graders, Bearse (1992) found that children who had heard fairy tales incorporated fairy tale elements into their own stories. Westland (1993) noted that girls generally rejected the frilly female image in fairy tales; however, the figure of the pretty, submissive princess predominated in girls' pictures. Also, Howarth (1989) concluded that acting out fairy tales enabled children to explore their developing inner selves, while Danilewitz (1991) argued that fairy tales not only appeared to awaken the feeling of participation with other human beings in children, but they also nourished children's courage to broaden their horizons and to tackle challenges successfully.

Additionally, Howarth (1989) noted that fairy tales teach children that evil acts result in negative consequences. Contrary to some of the findings by Bierhoff-Alfermann et. al (1982), O'Connor (1989) argued that these negative role models are usually women who are depicted as evil stepmothers, queens, or witches.

The Formation of Gender Schemata

Influenced by stories, observations, and experiences, children make their own attempts to understand their environment. They form schemata, which are categories or concepts that help them to organize the world (Fagot & Leinbach, 1989). Luke (1985) explained that schemata act upon data, as "we 'slot' information into available schematic categories in order to construct plausible and comprehensible interpretations" (p. 95). Thus, the gender schema theory proposes that the process of sex-typing is derived from gender-based schematic processing by making sex-linked associations based on the ready availability of one's gender schema (Bem, 1981).

Gender knowledge is multidimensional. The multidimensional components associate femininity and masculinity with at least four main components: behaviors, occupations, traits, and roles. Humans associate gender-related versions of these four components depending on the gender of a person. Therefore, by knowing one characteristic about a person in one category (e.g., interests, hobbies, occupation), we make inferences within the same category as well as across categories. Golombok and Fivush (1994) described it as such:

> Across-component associations link behaviors from different categories of knowledge. For example, "likes to cook," a female-related behavior, is associated with "being nurturant," a female-related trait, and with "mothering," a female-related role. These links within and across components allow us to make predictions. Knowing one thing about a

> person leads to inferring other things, both within the same category and across categories. In this way, the structure of gender schemas provides a great deal of predictability given very little information. (p. 101).

Furthermore, Martin, Wood, and Little (1990) found that preschool children relied almost exclusively on the gender-related labels they had formed to predict gender-typed behaviors and activities of an individual, regardless of counterstereotypic information given. Also, Martin et al. found that only around the age of eight will children be able to draw complex inferences within and across components when they make predictions about same-sex as well as other-sex characters.

The Role of Television in Gender Stereotyping

The mass media, in particular, television, serve as a major source of learning about gender roles and gender-typical behavior (Levy, 1990; Lafky, Duffy, Steinmaus, & Berkowitz, 1996). Content analyses have found that television portrays males more frequently in domineering roles and in positions of power than females (Mayerle & Rarick, 1989), while women were shown in fewer decisional, political, and operational actions (Vande Berg & Streckfuss, 1992) and as more dependent, nurturing, and fearful than males (Seidman, 1992).

Studying the link between the media's portrayal of the genders and gender role perceptions, findings suggest that children form beliefs about gender differences at an early age and have difficulty remembering gender-related information that is counterstereotypic (Ruble & Stangor, 1986; Liben & Signorella, 1993). Those children who viewed television as socially realistic, incorporated television messages into their schemata and aspirations, in particular, if relevant information from real-life was absent (Wright et al., 1995; Austin, Roberts, & Nass, 1990). Thus, children may see television as a magic window that represents truthful pictures of the world (Potter, 1986).

Moreover, Signorielli (1989) noted that the messages on television may contribute to more sexist views of women, and Signorielli and Lears (1992) found evidence that children's perceptions about sex-typed chores were positively related to television viewing. Investigating children's perceptions after they had viewed cartoons, Thompson and Zerbinos (1994) learned that more behaviors were attributed to male characters and that most children perceived male and female characters in stereotypical ways.

Stereotypes in Filmed Fairy Tales

Studies (O'Connor, 1989) suggest that female fairy tale characters are mostly depicted as victims. Feminists argue that the passive heroine offers a narrow and damaging role model for young people (Stone, 1984), and that these stereotypical images of women are also portrayed in the televised or filmed fairy tale adaptations (e.g., Zipes, 1988; Westland, 1993). The stereotypical images show males as being dominant, active, adventurous and independent, as having courage, and as the rescuer and protector of females. Female characters, on the other hand, are depicted as submissive, less intellectual, passive, and industrious (Kelley, 1994; O'Connor, 1989).

Furthermore, in the popular Cinderella-style fairy tales, the adolescent female's extraordinary beauty is equated to goodness and kindness, whereas adult women, especially those women who are powerful, are shown as cruel, wicked, jealous, and hostile (O'Connor, 1989). Yet, it appears that the Cinderella-style fairy tales, in particular, enjoy popularity, as Cinderella was the first-place choice for children and adults (Strayer, 1995).

Although very little empirical research has been devoted to investigating the amount of stereotypical images in filmed fairy tale adaptations, Leadbeater and Wilson (1993) juxtaposed Andersen's story The Little Sea Maid (1837) and Disney's video The Little Mermaid (1989). The findings suggest that the adolescent princess has evolved with changing views of women's roles; however, the filmed adaptation does not challenge the status quo.

A similar study in which Kelley (1994) juxtaposed Disney's film Cinderella (1950) and the Hollywood movie Pretty Woman (1990) revealed that gender stereotypes persist, with males being portrayed in dominant and active roles, whereas the females' purpose was to be beautiful, submissive, and industrious. According to Kelley, both films reiterate that "men are human beings; women are females" (p. 92).

In the first phase of this study, the percentages and frequencies of a content analysis found that the miller's daughter was more often portrayed as weak and passive, emotional, doing housework, and playing mother roles in the 1965 version than in the 1986 version of Rumpelstiltskin, even though differences were not statistically significant. Table 1 illustrates the findings after the two films were compared.

Table 1 about here

The second phase of this study was conducted to explore the relation between viewing the older or the newer version of Rumpelstiltskin and gender role conceptions among children. Based on the literature cited, this paper predicted that children would be more likely to reveal stereotypical attitudes toward women after having watched Kid Rhino's 1965 version compared to The Cannon Group's 1986 version.

Methodology

Definition of Terms

The term stereotypical attitudes was operationalized by focusing on what Durkin (1985) termed traditional sex-roles that are believed to characterize females and males. These stereotypical feminine characteristics include seeing women as more dependent, passive, weak, and emotional than males. Stereotypical attitudes were also measured in terms of the proper division of labor between the genders. Femininity was expected to be significantly correlated to home orientation, meaning, viewing females in nurturing and domestic roles. Therefore, doing housework and caring for children should be perceived more frequently as being female roles by those children who have viewed the Kid Rhino version. Conversely, males were predicted to be more likely seen as independent, assertive, and as protectors of females.

Participants

Subjects were 82 fourth graders (45 girls and 37 boys). Fourth graders were chosen because studies have indicated that children of that age still enjoy fairy tales, but are also old enough to respond to a questionnaire (Westland, 1993). Furthermore, as previously noted, only around the age of eight will children be able to draw complex inferences within and across components when they make predictions about same-sex as well as other-sex characters (Martin et al., 1990). The sample was drawn from a predominantly white, socio-economically mixed elementary school located in south-western Kentucky.

Material and Instruments

Both versions were used as independent variables to measure changes in stereotypical attitudes depending on the time the videotape was produced. A questionnaire served as an instrument to measure stereotypical attitudes. The content of the questionnaire consisted of eight questions that were the same for each group, with the first question asking for the subject's gender. The remaining questions were mainly derived from the Sex Stereotype Measure developed by Williams, Bennett, and Best (1975) as well as Signorella's (1985) Gender-Stereotyped Attitude Scale for Children (GASC).

Experimental Design and Procedure

The research design for this study was that of a posttest-only control group design because of the possibility of subject sensitization to the posttest by controlling instrumentation and testing. Subjects of this study were randomly assigned to three groups. Group one (n = 32; 16 girls, 16 boys) watched the 1965 version and filled out the questionnaire, while the second group (n = 29; 17 girls, 12 boys) watched the 1986 version and filled out the questionnaire. The control group (n = 21; 12 girls; 9 boys) filled out the measurement instrument only.

Findings

Examination of the data was accomplished by counting the frequencies indicated on the questionnaires for each group and calculating percentages. Then, chi squares were computed for each of the seven questions that the children answered. Findings in Table 2 pertain to the first four questions that checked for the stereotypical portrayal of women.

Table 2 about here

Overall, the results in Table 2 indicate that children in the 1965 group were more likely to respond in a stereotypical manner than children in the other two groups. Thus, children who had watched the 1965 version were more likely to view gentleness as a characteristic that they would associate with females (68.8%) instead of with males (3.1%) or with both genders (28.1%).

On the other hand, children in the 1986 and the control groups were slightly more likely to respond that both men and women were gentle. When the results of the different groups in the category of gentleness were compared, however, the chi square tests showed that only the juxtaposition of the 1965 and the 1986 groups yielded statistically significant differences.

Moreover, children in all groups were more likely to respond that women cried a lot. A clear difference was observed when the percentages of the three groups were compared. Those children who had watched the older version were by far more likely (90.6%) than children in the control group (52.4%) and in the 1986 group (55.2%) to choose the response option of "women" for this category.

On the other hand, the percentages also indicate that children in the control group and the 1986 group responded in a very similar manner. Chi square test results confirmed that a statistically significant difference in the category of crying can be established when the 1965 group was compared with the control group and when the 1965 group was compared with the 1986 group.

The last two questions in Table 2 pertain to the division of labor. Children who watched the older film as well as children who saw the newer version were more likely to indicate that women do the housework (87.5% and 75.9%, respectively).

In the control group, however, more than half of the children indicated that both men and women did the housework and took care of the children. Interestingly, more children in the 1965 group (59.4%) than in the 1986 group (51.7%) marked the "both men and women" option. No significant statistical difference was established for this category, except when the 1986 group was compared to the control group.

Moreover, Table 3 depicts the remaining questions that are more readily associated with males. According to Table 3, children who watched the 1965 film were more likely to respond in a stereotypical manner than children in the other groups. The most striking difference in answers becomes apparent when the high significance levels in Table 3 are examined.

Table 3 about here

It appears that a statistically significant difference in stereotypical responses was most pronounced when the 1965 and the control groups were compared. Also, statistically significant differences were obtained for all comparisons, except for the question "Who gets into fights?" when the 1986 group was compared with the control group.

While the children who had seen the older version were more likely to attribute fighting to men, the control group as well as the 1986 group was more likely to choose the category of "both men and women." In the control group, this category, especially, predominated as the response option. Children in all groups were least inclined to mark "women" as their answer; however, children in the control group were the only ones who did not choose this response option at all for the first question.

For the second question in Table 3, children in the 1965 group were again more likely to mark the stereotypical male response option on their questionnaire, compared to children in the other two groups. Conversely, more than half of the children in the control group (57.1%) marked the least stereotypical response option of "both men and women," in contrast to the 1986 group (31%) and children who saw the older version (15.6%).

An interesting difference can be seen when the response option of "women" is considered. Only a few children in the 1965 group (6.3%) marked "women" as their response for the second question. On the other hand, about an equal number of children in the 1986 group (20.7%) and in the control group (23.8%) believed that women made most of the rules.

Finally, Table 3 shows that the majority of children who had seen the 1965 film believed that men protect others. In distinct contrast, most fourth graders (81%) who had not seen a film selected the neutral response, while nearly half of the children in the 1986 group circled this option.

Nevertheless, none of the children in the control group and in the 1986 group indicated that women would protect others. Likewise, more than half of the children in both groups who had watched either film were more likely to give the stereotypical answer, compared to the children in the control group (19%).

Whereas Table 2 and Table 3 illustrate the responses of all children, Table 4 and Table 5 depict the responses by boys compared to girls. Table 4 illustrates the responses that boys and girls gave when they answered questions that are stereotypically associated with females. The data for these four questions were collapsed to render a better comparison between the girls' and boys' responses in each group.

Table 4 about here

Table 4 shows that boys and girls in the three groups gave different answers; yet, it also shows that within each group, boys and girls selected similar answers. Both, girls and boys, in the 1965 group were least likely to circle "men" for the four questions that are stereotypical female characteristics. Girls in the 1965 group were slightly more apt to supply the stereotypical response than boys. Conversely, more boys selected the neutral option than girls.

Similar results can be detected in the control and the 1986 groups. Although one girl in each group chose "men" as an answer, slightly more girls (41.7%) than boys (38.9%) in the control group gave the stereotypical response. Likewise, in the 1986 group, more girls (58.8%) than boys (52.1%) circled the stereotypical response of "women." Just as in the other two groups, more boys than girls chose the neutral option.

Chi squares were calculated for each group to detect whether boys and girls had supplied answers that were significantly different. While the percentages indicate slight variations, no statistical significance was established at the $p < .05$ level.

The last table, Table 5, depicts frequencies and percentages of boys' and girls' responses for the remaining three questions that are stereotypically associated with males.

Table 5 about here

Even though both boys and girls who saw the 1965 film were more inclined to provide the stereotypical answer, Table 5 illustrates that boys were more likely than girls to circle "men" as their reply. Boys, however, were less likely (2.1%) than girls (8.3%) to select "women," when asked questions concerning stereotypical male characteristics. Also, slightly more girls than boys marked the neutral option.

Unlike the 1965 group, boys in the control group were less likely to associate males with the questions pertaining to stereotypical male characteristics than girls. In fact, more boys marked the response "women" (14.8%) than "men" (11.1%). Girls in the control group, however, were least likely to select "women" as the answer. About an equal percentage of boys and girls in the control group believed that "both men and women" was the best answer.

Similar to the control group, more girls than boys in the 1986 group provided the stereotypical answer; however, slightly more girls (9.8%) than boys (8.3%) also marked "women" on their questionnaire. Also, in contrast to girls, slightly more than half of the boys who watched the 1986 version selected the "both" option.

Whereas chi square results showed that no statistically significant difference was found between the genders' responses for the stereotypical female characteristics, for the stereotypical male characteristics, one significant difference at the $p < .05$ level was calculated when the answers of boys and girls in the 1986 control group were compared. Upon closer examination of the calculation, it became apparent that the significance of 5.65 stemmed from the vast differences in responses between boys and girls for the second response option. Four of the nine boys in the control group selected "women" for stereotypical male characteristics, compared to only 1 of the 12 girls. For the other two groups, no statistically significant difference between the genders' responses was established.

Discussion

This research analyzed if and to what extent fairy tale versions that were produced in different decades would affect children's perceptions of gender-role stereotypes. It was predicted that those children who watched Kid Rhino's version would be more likely to reveal stereotypical attitudes toward gender-appropriate behaviors and roles compared to fourth graders who had seen the 1986 film.

Specifically, the hypothesis stated that children would be more likely to give stereotypical responses toward male and female traits as well as toward division of labor after having watched the older version compared to the newer film.

The questionnaire that children filled out contained seven questions, four of which pertained to stereotypical female characteristics, i.e., gentleness, emotionality/

weakness, doing housework, and taking care of children. The remaining three questions were reversed and pertained therefore to stereotypical male characteristics, i.e., aggressiveness/assertiveness, dominance/autocracy, and protectiveness/strongness.

A significant statistical difference in responses between the 1986 and the 1965 groups was observed after calculating chi squares. Of the four questions that checked for stereotypical female characteristics, two questions, "Who is gentle?" and "Who cries a lot?" showed a statistically significant difference between the 1965 and the 1986 groups. For the remaining two questions that pertained to the stereotypical division of labor between the genders, "Who does the housework?" and "Who takes care of the children?" no statistically significant difference in responses was observed. For the three questions that are more readily associated with men than with women, however, statistically significant differences between the responses of children who had watched the older versus the newer version were found.

Thus, the hypothesis was supported, except for the two questions that pertained to the division of labor. All questions that applied to gender-typical male and female traits showed a statistically significant difference in responses for children who had watched the 1965 versus the 1986 adaptations.

When the content analysis is examined (see Table 1), it becomes apparent that frequencies that pertained to the division of labor, that is, housework and mother roles, were less frequently observed in both versions than incidents that applied to stereotypical traits, such as female passivity and emotionality. Neither film depicts the heroine cleaning and both films show her caressing with the same frequency. Therefore, the similarity in answers of children who had watched either version to the questions of housework and child care may reflect the similarity in frequencies pertaining to housework and mother roles that were observed in the content analysis.

It must be noted, however, that even though a statistically significant difference for the categories of division of labor was not found between the children who had watched either version of Rumpelstiltskin, the vast majority of children in both treatment groups (87.5% for the 1965 group; 75.9% for the 1986 group) indicated that women do the housework, compared to the control group (42.9%). On the other hand, slightly more children who had seen the older version (59.4%) marked that both genders took care of the children, compared to children in the 1986 group (51.7%). The majority of children in the control group (81%) selected the "both" option.

A similar pattern can be detected upon examination of the remaining questions. More than half of the children in the control group selected the "both" response for six out of the seven questions. It appears that children who had not seen either fairy tale were less likely to attribute stereotypical characteristics to either gender and therefore selected the last option. This is in clear contrast to the groups who had watched the fairy tale.

Hence, a different picture emerges when the responses of the control group are compared to the two treatment groups. From the seven questions, statistically significant differences were computed for five questions when the control groups' answers were compared to that of the 1965 group. The questions pertaining to traditional male characteristics elicited a particularly high statistical significance. In addition, four questions showed a statistically significant difference after juxtaposing the 1986 group to the control group.

Therefore, the data collected seem to confirm the proposition by Martin et al. (1990) who noted that children around the age of eight will be able to draw complex inferences both within and between components when they make predictions about the genders. Gender schema theorists argue that components of gender knowledge include behaviors, roles, occupations, and traits (Golombok & Fivush, 1994). Thus, older children will be able to make associations between components, such as seeing a woman taking care of a child (a role) and predicting that the woman is gentle (a female-related trait), or that she likes to cook (a female-related behavior).

Consequently, children who had seen either film may have responded more stereotypically than children in the control group because they made inferences between components. Even though the content analysis had found that the miller's daughter was not depicted as cleaning and only prepared or served meals at a low frequency in both versions, a great majority of children in the treatment groups indicated that women do the housework. It is possible that fourth graders who had seen either fairy tale in which the heroine was likely to be depicted in stereotypical female traits, such as crying or asking for help, made gender-typical associations pertaining to stereotypical female roles, such as housekeeping.

Of course, knowledge about gender-appropriate behavior and making associations between components is not limited to female characteristics. Children at that age are able to make inferences about both genders. Interestingly, fourth graders who had seen a film in which the main character succumbed to her gender-appropriate roles, behaviors, and traits were also more likely to indicate that men get more into fights, make most rules, and protect others compared to children in the control group.

It is questionable whether children in the control group were aschematic regarding gender stereotypes, in particular, when it is considered that around 50% of the children in the control group responded stereotypically for three questions. These three questions pertained to all stereotypical female characteristics, except for the question concerning child care. The data seem to confirm the gender schema theory in that humans develop stereotyped notions of women and men at a young age. Children develop schemata which guide their choices of gender-appropriate behaviors and which encompass information in relation to either gender (Fagot & Leinbach, 1989).

Nonetheless, when the questions that applied to stereotypical male characteristics are examined, it becomes clear that the children in the control group did not confirm the culture's definitions of masculinity and femininity. In fact, more children (23.8%) in the control group believed that women make most of the rules, compared to children (19%) who gave the gender-typical response of "men." More than half of the children in the control group (57.1%) believed that both genders make rules, while more than 80% of the fourth graders in that group marked the "both" option for the two remaining questions that concerned male characteristics. Also, most children in the control group (81%) believed that both genders take care of the children.

As previously mentioned, children are not born with gender schemata, but develop them in response to stimuli from the environment to process gender-typical information. The data suggest that children who did not watch either film relied solely on their cognitive availability of gender-related knowledge, attitudes, or beliefs (Bem, 1981). It appears therefore that stereotypical male characteristics are no longer the solitary domain of males, but that the environment has taught children that females can also exhibit traditional male characteristics.

On the other hand, only about half of the children in the control group selected the "both" option when they answered questions relating to stereotypical female characteristics. It appears that children in the control group were still less likely to attribute traditional female behaviors or roles as characteristics that men may also hold. As Golombok and Fivush (1994) put it aptly, "females in our culture can engage in many cross-gender activities with little penalty, but males are not able to cross gender lines quite so easily" (p. 110).

When differences in responses between boys and girls are examined, however, it appears that girls were slightly more stereotypical in their responses than boys. One exception was the frequencies pertaining to stereotypical male characteristics for the 1965 group, as more boys (75%) than girls (62.5%) supplied the stereotypical answer. For all categories that checked for stereotypical female characteristics, boys were consistently more likely to select the neutral response than girls, while girls in the 1965 and the control groups were slightly more likely to mark the "both" option for stereotypical male characteristics.

Also, percentages indicate that girls in all groups selected the neutral option slightly more frequently when questions related to male compared to female characteristics. On the other hand, boys in the 1986 group were more apt to mark the "both" option compared to girls in this group, and about an equal amount of girls and boys in the control group selected the neutral category.

Chi square results indicate that only one statistically significant difference between the genders' responses was found when the responses of boys and girls in the control group were analyzed. This difference, however, relates only to questions concerning traditional male characteristics. Hence, the data are largely inconclusive as to whether there is a difference in responses between boys and girls, except for the slight variations just mentioned. This also means, of course, that both genders alike accounted for the differences in stereotypical responses when the individual groups were compared.

The overall pattern of the present results show at least partial support for the media's influence on gender role conceptions. It can be concluded that exposing children to a stereotypical film, such as fairy tale adaptations, may significantly alter children's perception on appropriate female and male roles and behaviors. The findings are therefore consistent with research (e.g., Wright et al., 1995; Huston, Greer, Wright, Welch, & Ross, 1984; Liben & Signorella, 1993; Signorielli & Lears, 1992) that investigated the link between television's messages and its influences on children's perceptions.

Theorists and social critics have argued that, besides peers and family, it is television which provides children with social information (Wright et al., 1995). Even though fairy tale settings are not only uncommon but also nonexistent and many characters, such as Rumpelstiltskin, are imaginary in fairy tales, it seems that the stereotypical fairy tale world affected fourth graders' gender role perceptions. Considering that studies (Crain et al., 1983; Danilewitz, 1991; Bearse, 1992) suggest that fairy tales appear to hold children's attention and have thought-provoking effects on children, fairy tales, in particular, may play an important role in influencing children's perceptions about culturally appropriate female and male differences. The data exemplify Zipes' (1988) assertion that, "the Grimms' tales, either in their translated literal editions or in multifarious adaptations, play a crucial role in the socialization of children over much of the modern world" (p. 110), in its most poignant sense.

Hence, it appears that gender-typical information, as provided in filmed fairy tale adaptations, may be processed on the basis of gender-linked associations that constitute gender schemata. As organized structures of information that aid in assigning meaning to everyday experiences and guide information processing, schemata bridge internal data that were developed based on previous experiences and external data, such as provided by media messages (Bem, 1981).

Filmed fairy tales, albeit having received little attention in empirical research, may in particular provide stereotypical portrayals of the genders, as they are adapted to the original Grimms' stories that reflect the typical patriarchal structures of society. Furthermore, it must also be remembered that children are not only the primary audience for fairy tales, but that children also enjoy the written texts (Wardetzky, 1990; Danilewitz, 1991; Strayer, 1995) as well as the filmed adaptations (Trousdale, 1989; Kelley, 1994). Considering that "the use of cartoon formats, fantasy themes, or children as characters in commercials targeted at children, more closely 'fits' their knowledge of the real and of imaginary 'possible worlds'" (Luke, 1985, p. 97), filmed fairy tale adaptations are of particular concern.

Continued research in this area is pivotal. To determine to what extent the results of the study are reliable, a repetition of this research is needed. Also, a larger sample of filmed fairy tale adaptations, including Walt Disney productions that were produced in the 1930s and 1950s, may yield different results. The need for analyzing more filmed fairy tales is paramount, as the older Walt Disney adaptations, in particular, are still reproduced and sold worldwide.

Furthermore, it would not only be of interest to draw a larger sample of filmed fairy tales and code the portrayals of the genders, but future studies may change the experimental design and incorporate pretests as well as posttests to measure changes in the subjects' levels of gender stereotyping. Additionally, an interesting extension of this research would be to juxtapose a stereotypical Cinderella-type fairy tale with a less stereotypical tale such as The Twelve Brothers and measure children's perceptions of gender-appropriate behaviors, traits, or roles.

Fairy tales are part of our cultural heritage and are likely to remain so for generations to come. Their magic worlds inspire our fantasy and imagination. Arguably, a girl's wish to wear a "princess" costume and become a Cinderella for just one day may have originated after a girl has heard or watched a fairy tale. It is a world in which dreams come true, evil is punished and the good are rewarded. But it is also a world that reinforces submissive womanhood and virile autocracy.

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Appendix

Table A1

Frequencies and Percentages for Content Analysis

Variables	**1965**	**(%)**	**1986**	**(%)**	**Total**	**(%)**
Weakness/Passivity	56	(61.5)	35	(38.5)	91	(100)
Following Orders	22		13		35	
Showing Fear/Worry	25		16		41	
Asking for Help	9		6		15	
Emotionality	44	(59.5)	30	(40.5)	74	(100)
Crying	16		7		23	
Showing Happiness	28		23		51	
Housework	5	(71.5)	2	(28.5)	7	(100)
Cleaning	0		0		0	
Preparing Meal	5		2		7	
Mother Roles	19	(59.4)	13	(40.6)	32	(100)
Scolding	9		3		12	
Caressing/Kissing	10		10		20	

Note. Chi square results: (3, one-tailed = 6.25) = 0.497, $p < .05$

Table A2

Overall Frequencies and Percentages of Responses for Stereotypical Female Characteristics

QUESTION	GROUP	RESPONSE OPTIONS		
		Men	**Women**	**Both**
Who is gentle[a]	1965	1 (3.1%)	22 (68.8%)	9 (28.1%)
	Control	0 (0%)	10 (47.6%)	11 (52.3%)
	1986	0 (0%)	13 (44.8%)	16 (55.2%)
Who cries a lot[b]	1965	0 (0%)	29 (90.6%)	3 (9.4%)
	Control	1 (4.8%)	11 (52.4%)	9 (42.9%)
	1986	0 (0%)	16 (55.2%)	13 (44.8%)
Who does the housework[c]	1965	0 (0%)	28 (87.5%)	4 (12.5%)
	Control	0 (0%)	9 (42.9%)	12 (57.1%)
	1986	1 (3.4%)	22 (75.9%)	6 (20.7%)
Who takes care of the children[d]	1965	0 (0%)	13 (40.6%)	19 (59.4%)
	Control	0 (0%)	4 (19%)	17 (81%)
	1986	0 (0%)	14 (48.3%)	15 (51.7%)

Note. 1965 group: $n = 32$. Control group: $n = 21$. 1986 group: $n = 29$. Chi square results: (2, one-tailed = 4.60), $p < .05$. Comparing 1965 group with control group: [a]3.16, [b]11.08, [c]15.6, [d]3.19. Comparing 1986 group with control group: [a]0.03, [b]0.39, [c]6.95, [d]5.72. Comparing 1965 group with 1986 group: [a]4.85, [b]14.7, [c]1.12, [d]0.4.

Table A3

Overall Frequencies and Percentages of Responses for Stereotypical Male Characteristics

QUESTION	**GROUP**	**RESPONSE OPTIONS**		
		Men	**Women**	**Both**
Who gets into fights[a]	1965	18 (56.3%)	1 (3.1%)	13 (40.6%)
	Control	3 (14.3%)	0 (0%)	18 (85.7%)
	1986	8 (27.6%)	2 (6.9%)	19 (65.5%)
Who makes most of the rules[b]	1965	25 (78.1%)	2 (6.3%)	5 (15.6%)
	Control	4 (19%)	5 (23.8%)	12 (57.1%)
	1986	14 (48.3%)	6 (20.7%)	9 (31%)
Who protects others[c]	1965	23 (71.9%)	2 (6.3%)	7 (21.9%)
	Control	4 (19%)	0 (0%)	17 (81%)
	1986	15 (51.7%)	0 (0%)	14 (48.3%)

Note. 1965 group: n = 32. Control group: n = 21. 1986 group: n = 29. Chi square results (2, one-tailed = 4.60), $p < .05$. Comparing 1965 group with control group: [a]15.38, [b]27.66, [c]24.84. Comparing 1986 group with control group: [a]2.17, [b]6.22, [c]7.08. Comparing 1965 group with 1986 group: [a]5.73, [b]7.14, [c]5.0.

Table A4

Frequencies and Percentages of Boys' and Girls' Responses for Stereotypical Female Characteristics

GROUP	RESPONSE OPTIONS					
	Men		Women		Both	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1965[a]	1(1.6%)	0(0%)	43(67.2%)	49(76.6%)	20(31.3%)	15(23.4%)
Control[b]	0(0%)	1(2.1%)	14(38.9%)	20(41.7%)	22(61.1%)	27(56.3%)
1986[c]	0(0%)	1(1.5%)	25(52.1%)	40(58.8%)	23(47.9%)	27(39.7%)

Note. [a]Chi square results: (2, n = 32; 16 boys, 16 girls; one-tailed = 4.60) = 1.37, $p < .05$. [b]Chi square (2, n = 21; 9 boys, 12 girls) = 0.31, $p < .05$. [c]Chi square (2, n = 29; 12 boys, 17 girls) = 0.83, $p < .05$.

Table A5

Frequencies and Percentages of Boys' and Girls' Responses for Stereotypical Male Characteristics

GROUP	RESPONSE OPTIONS					
	Men		Women		Both	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1965[a]	36(75%)	30(62.5%)	1(2.1%)	4(8.3%)	11(22.9%)	14(29.2)
Control[b]	3(11.1%)	8(22.2%)	4(14.8%)	1(2.8%)	20(74.1%)	27(75%)
1986[c]	14(38.9%)	23(45.1%)	3(8.3%)	5(9.8%)	19(52.8%)	23(45.1%)

Note. [a]Chi square results: (2, n = 32; 16 boys, 16 girls; one-tailed = 4.60) = 3.73, p < .05. [b]Chi square (2, n = 21; 9 boys, 12 girls) = 5.65, p < .05. [c]Chi square (2, n = 29; 12 boys, 17 girls) = 0.5, p < .05.

Figure A1. Mapping Sentence of Hypothesis.

Respondents reveal more stereotypical attitudes in terms of:

A. Traits	*and*	B. Division of Labor
1. Gentleness		1. Housework
2. Aggressiveness/assertiveness		2. Mother role
3. Emotionality/weakness		
4. Dominance/autocracy		
5. Protectiveness/strongness		

after having watched Kid Rhino's 1965 version compared to those respondents who have watched The Cannon Group's 1986 version.

Beyond Tokenism:
Multicultural Communications
Theory and Practice

Paper Submitted to the Commission on the Status of Women
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Beyond Tokenism: Multicultural Communications Theory and Practice

Abstract

This paper addresses scholars and practitioners in mass communications about the importance of including comprehensive diversity and "multiculturalism" in all aspects of their work. To that end, this paper briefly outlines one theoretical perspective that can be used for multicultural mass communication research and practice. The paper then develops a working model of multicultural communications to help practitioners, teachers, and researchers in the field include class, ethnicity, gender, and other intersections of identity in their work.

Beyond Tokenism: Multicultural Communications Theory and Practice

Without a doubt, three of the most "politically correct" words in mass communications academia today are *race*, *class*, and *gender*. Similarly, *multiculturalism* is popular among practitioners and professionals in the field. How are these categories defined and used by academics, practitioners, and students in our discipline? How are they recognized or ignored in teaching, research, and professional applications in mass communications? How is our field evolving (or not) to incorporate these important intersections of gender, race, and class?

These are some of the questions I am struggling with as a doctoral candidate in mass communications. After three years of graduate study, I am beginning to recognize the sexism that continues to dominate our discipline. Being a woman, I found it relatively safe to incorporate the study of gender in my graduate research and teaching. Only recently, however, have I become aware of my own privilege (i.e., white, middle-class, heterosexual, able-bodied, among others). For this insight, I had to walk across the street, literally and figuratively, to another building and discipline entirely (namely, sociology). While I was across the street, I also deepened my understanding of gender intersections by reading feminist books and articles written outside of my own field.

I have envisioned the writing of this critical essay as a process for me to develop a cohesive, theoretical foundation for my own research and teaching in the field of mass communications. I also hope that this paper addresses scholars and practitioners in mass communications about the importance of diversity, inclusion, and "multiculturalism" in their own work. To that end, first I will briefly outline one theoretical perspective that can be used for multicultural mass communication research and practice. Second, I will attempt to develop a working model to help mass communication practitioners, teachers, and researchers include class, ethnicity, gender, and other intersections in their work.

One Multicultural Theoretical Perspective

I approach multicultural communications from a feminist theoretical perspective. Although this is *my* starting place, there are many other theoretical approaches (e.g., critical/cultural theoretical perspectives) which also address issues of diversity and inclusion. I do not intend to suggest that my approach is the only or best one; rather it is one that I hope can be a heuristic theoretical tool for others in the field.[1]

Understanding the range of literature that constitutes feminist scholarship is difficult due to the multiple definitions of the concept *feminism*. Feminist scholars themselves do not agree on a unified definition of the term. Marjorie DeVault, a feminist sociologist, provides the following conception: "'Feminism' is a movement, a set of beliefs, that problematize gender inequality . . . they [feminists] value women's lives and concerns, and work to improve women's status" (1996, p. 31). Feminist theories are based on "a theoretical acknowledgment of women's traditional devaluation . . . in relation to men with the assumption that the relationship needs to change" (Steeves, 1987, p. 96). While many feminist scholars would agree that feminist theoretical perspectives begin with the study of gender inequality, they also realize the fundamental importance of recognizing differences among women (e.g., class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, (dis)abilities, age, religion, cultural heritage) (Connell, 1987).

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[1] I encourage scholars from other research perspectives to write similar works on their theory and practice of multicultural communications. These essays could then be compiled into a single volume to illustrate multiple theoretical paths toward comprehensive inclusion of diversity in our research and teaching.

Although feminist approaches represent a diverse and somewhat fragmented theoretical perspective, it is useful to identify certain central themes. Due to the importance of including a broad range of perspectives, some feminists may find the restrictive nature of these definitions and boundaries problematic. The feminist framework relied on for this essay is not an attempt to create a categorical, authoritative definition of feminism, but to delimit some of the common themes among some feminist perspectives in mass communications for the purpose of building a theoretical foundation for this essay. As Dale Spender suggests, "at the core of feminist ideas is the crucial insight that there is no one truth, no one objective method which leads to the production of pure knowledge" (1980, pp. 5-6). Providing some structure to the multitude of feminist approaches is not intended to restrict nor legitimize certain theoretical perspectives over others. Rather, it is meant to be a tool to build theory in the area.

Definitions of Feminism(s) in the Mass Communications Literature

Angharad Valdivia describes feminist scholarship as the "...theoretical study of women's oppression and the strategical and political ways that all of us, building on that theoretical and historical knowledge, can work to end that oppression" (1995, p. 8). By exploring multicultural spectrums, Valdivia (1995) encourages researchers to embrace multicultural approaches to identities and theoretical frameworks (e.g., across spectrums of race, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, global regions, cultural settings). Many contemporary feminist scholars emphasize the importance of including multiple identities in any definition of feminism. Marsha Houston (1992), for instance, has criticized the failure of feminist scholars to not only accommodate, but also celebrate women's diversity in their research.

Perhaps what makes feminist scholarship in mass communications unique is its focused examination of the media as institutional sources of gender inequities. Lana Rakow, for example, describes how "...gender research [in the field] should mean being engaged in questions about the role of communication in the construction and accomplishment of a gender system" (1986, p. 12). Through research on how the media contribute to the creation and/or maintenance of this gendered system, some feminist scholars seek to expose and perhaps transform these cultural and political gendered values (Creedon, 1993).

Not all feminist scholars in the field, however, would define their goals in these terms. Definitions of feminism(s) continue to evolve as feminist scholarship matures in the discipline. Using the following three areas, I will briefly outline the feminist theoretical perspective relied on for this paper: standpoint epistemology (accounting for difference in women's experience); feminist perspectives on research methodology; and gendered power relations.

Standpoint Epistemology

Epistemology is the study of how humans create knowledge; it examines the process of how we know things. Feminist scholarship is typically grounded in women's epistemological frameworks, because women have specialized knowledge to interpret their experiences from their unique standpoints (Smith, 1987; Harding, 1991). Some feminist scholars argue that traditional academic research and writing presents knowledge from white, middle class men's perspectives (Harding, 1991; Rakow, 1992). The gender of the researcher, however, does not dictate the epistemological approach: "Many factors -- institutional, structural, social, professional -- ensure that most media women, like most media men, will operate within an identical ideological paradigm" (Gallagher, 1989, p. 82).

When describing feminist standpoint epistemology, Sandra Harding explains that all knowledge production is situated in a social context that is not objective, value-free, impartial, and neutral (1991, p. 119). According to Harding, women, as "valuable strangers" within social orders, produce less distorted and partial representations without claiming the complete, universal, absolute authority of knowledge (1991, p. 187). Grounding the production of knowledge in women's lives (or standpoint), therefore, provides a starting point for academic inquiry that has not been widely used in the past.

Rather than generalize the experiences of all women as universal, however, standpoint epistemology assumes that each woman has a unique epistemological framework originating from her ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, age, (dis)ability, and other intersections of identity. "Black women's standpoint," for example, challenges intellectual traditions by "examining the everyday ideas of Black women" in their music, poetry, community work, etc. as valuable sources of knowledge (Hill Collins, 1990, p. 15).

As mentioned previously, some feminist epistemological perspectives recognize that all knowledge is partial and incomplete. This differs from traditional social scientific perspectives that seek to establish sets of generalizations derived from empirical testing that present not "final or ultimate knowledge" but "the *best* knowledge and the best interpretation" (Tichenor & McLeod, 1989, p. 29).[2] Some feminist scholars, in contrast, believe that no single individual's experience can explain everyone else's. If one group's epistemology is primarily relied upon (i.e., social scientists), then other ways of knowing will be excluded and ignored. Subordinated groups (i.e., groups who generally have less access to power in society, like women and/or people of color) have insights into relations that oppress them that are not available to members of dominant groups (hooks, 1984, Hill Collins, 1990). When mass communications scholars investigate and share this subjugated knowledge through research centered on subjugated groups, they have contributed to increasing the body of knowledge in the discipline.

Feminist Perspectives on Research Methodology

Just as no singular definition of feminism exists, no particular research method can be uniquely identified with feminist research. Feminist scholars, however, have identified certain characteristics that characterize feminist methodologies.[3] Marjorie DeVault (1990), for example, describes three goals common to feminist methodologies: centering research practices on women's concerns and lives, minimizing control and harm of study participants (e.g., leveling power hierarchies), and contributing to social action or change that improves women's lives.

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[2] The terms *feminist scholar* and *social scientist* are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Some self-identified feminist scholars (e.g., liberal feminists) may generate research within traditional social scientific frameworks. As stated previously, the purpose here is to build a theoretical foundation for this paper, rather than provide a single, universal definition of feminism.

Shulamit Reinharz (1992) similarly describes feminist research methodologies as a perspective rather than a specific method. Through an extensive review of self-identified feminist research in many academic disciplines, Reinharz inductively suggests many common themes that characterize feminist research methodologies, including the following:

- designing research to create social change (praxis);
- conducting research to give women voice (i.e., present women's epistemologies) without exploiting the study's participants (e.g., participatory and non-hierarchical research);
- recognizing human diversity (i.e., a broad range of human experience across intersections of race, class, gender, sexual orientation, et al.);
- acknowledging the researcher's own social and cultural position in relation to the research.

Reinharz describes inadequately diversified research as "a sign of methodological weakness and moral failure, an impermissible reflection of a lack of effort and unwitting prejudice" (1992, p. 255).

Publishing specifically in the communications discipline, Karen Foss and Sonja Foss (1989) confirm the use of many of these feminist methodological perspectives in the field. According to these authors, feminist research emphasizes process and wholeness rather than structure and parts; recognizes the construction of knowledge as

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Feminist scholars do not claim that each of these characteristics is unique or exclusive to feminist methodological approaches. It is possible that certain methodological perspectives identified by feminist scholars may be held by other research perspectives (including social scientists).

interconnected partial truths; strives for ethical cooperation among the study's participants and the researcher; identifies women's experiences as meaningful and appropriate topics for research; and works toward social change.

Praxis (or practice) is an important component of feminist methodological perspectives. Praxis refers to practical action: The direct application of feminist research findings to improve the condition of women's lives. As Shulamit Reinharz indicates, "feminist research aims to create social change" (1992, p. 240). Feminist research and methodologies, therefore, typically are connected to activist concerns like consciousness-raising, policy recommendations, and other practical contributions to women's welfare.

Gendered Power Relations

Feminism is concerned with gender as asymmetrical power relations rather than solely the study of sex roles or gender socialization (Charles, 1996). Transforming power relations means envisioning a new perspective that relocates access to power and alters dominant explications of power. Margaret Gallagher, indeed, has emphasized that, "consideration of the concept of power -- its nature, how it is defined, how it is expressed and maintained -- is central to any feminist analysis" (1989, p. 84). This paper relies on a feminist power model based on the work of Davina Cooper (1994, 1995). Cooper's approach to power centers on "power as the matrix of forces structuring social life" (1995, p. 2). This model describes four abstract modes or classifications of power:

1. *Ideology* or "the range of interpretative frameworks and meanings through which social relations, practices, and society generally are both constituted and understood;"

2. *Force* or "the subjugation of the will or the body of another by physical or psychological means: coercion, threats, violence, etc.;"

3. *Discipline* or "the tactics and technologies of disciplinary organisations [and] social systems whose rules, practices, and procedures impact upon the ways in which people, institutions, and social life operate;" and

4. *Resources* or "the ability to create a material advantage that can be acquired and possessed" (Cooper, 1994, pp. 447-448).

These abstract modes of power are not static categories, but overlap and interact to create a fluid, contradictory discourse of power expressed through certain concrete historical forms. The *Resources* mode, for example, is practically deployed in specific historical contexts through the use of such forms as legal rights, money, and skills.

The four modes of power are not exercised equally by everyone, everywhere. Access to power (in any mode) depends on an individual's social status or vectors (e.g., race, gender, class) and the site of each power relation (e.g., geographic, institutional, or systemic). The nature of access, the form employed, and the impact of the power relation all correspond to the social vectors and sites for each individual. Many feminist scholars in mass communications would argue that combining white, male, and middle class vectors typically permit more privileged access to modes of power (Creedon, 1993, Rakow, 1993). Similarly, some women's access to power modes may be increased in a domestic site (e.g., the home) versus an institutional one (e.g., the courts).

Cooper's approach "identifies power as the facilitation of particular outcomes, processes and practices [that] may include the maintenance and reproduction of the status quo or, alternatively, its dismantling or transformation" (1995, p. 18). Using this model, power is not necessarily pejorative and can, therefore, include the supposition of feminist empowerment.

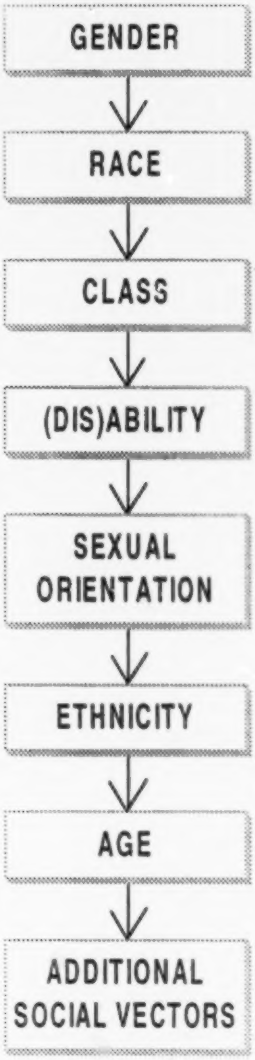
Having briefly outlined the feminist theoretical perspectives relied upon for this analysis, the second half of this paper will apply these theoretical concepts to an approach to genuine, comprehensive multicultural communications research and practice in our field. For this analysis, the following three areas will be considered: the examination of diversity as a matrix; coalition building in the field; and feminist empowerment.

A Multicultural Matrix

How do we incorporate race, class, gender and other intersections into our everyday thinking? In my statistics class the other day, the professor was explaining that additive models are much easier to work with than multiplicative ones. That makes sense. In an additive model, I can look at each component separately (one at a time) and determine its independent contribution to the model. Multiplicative models are not so simple. When I multiply components together, they become merged and impossible to separate.

Including race, class, gender, and other intersections in our thinking and work is difficult due to their multiplicative nature. It is so much easier to think of each of these social vectors separately as additive models. Additive models are more intuitive and easier to visualize (see Figure 1). For most of my academic life, I have been trained to think in a linear (i.e., additive) manner. So, I tend to think about, for example, women or Hispanics

Figure 1. An Additive Social Vectors Model


GENDER
RACE
CLASS
(DIS)ABILITY
SEXUAL ORIENTATION
ETHNICITY
AGE
ADDITIONAL SOCIAL VECTORS

or lesbians and then sum up that knowledge, assuming it adequately describes Hispanic lesbians.

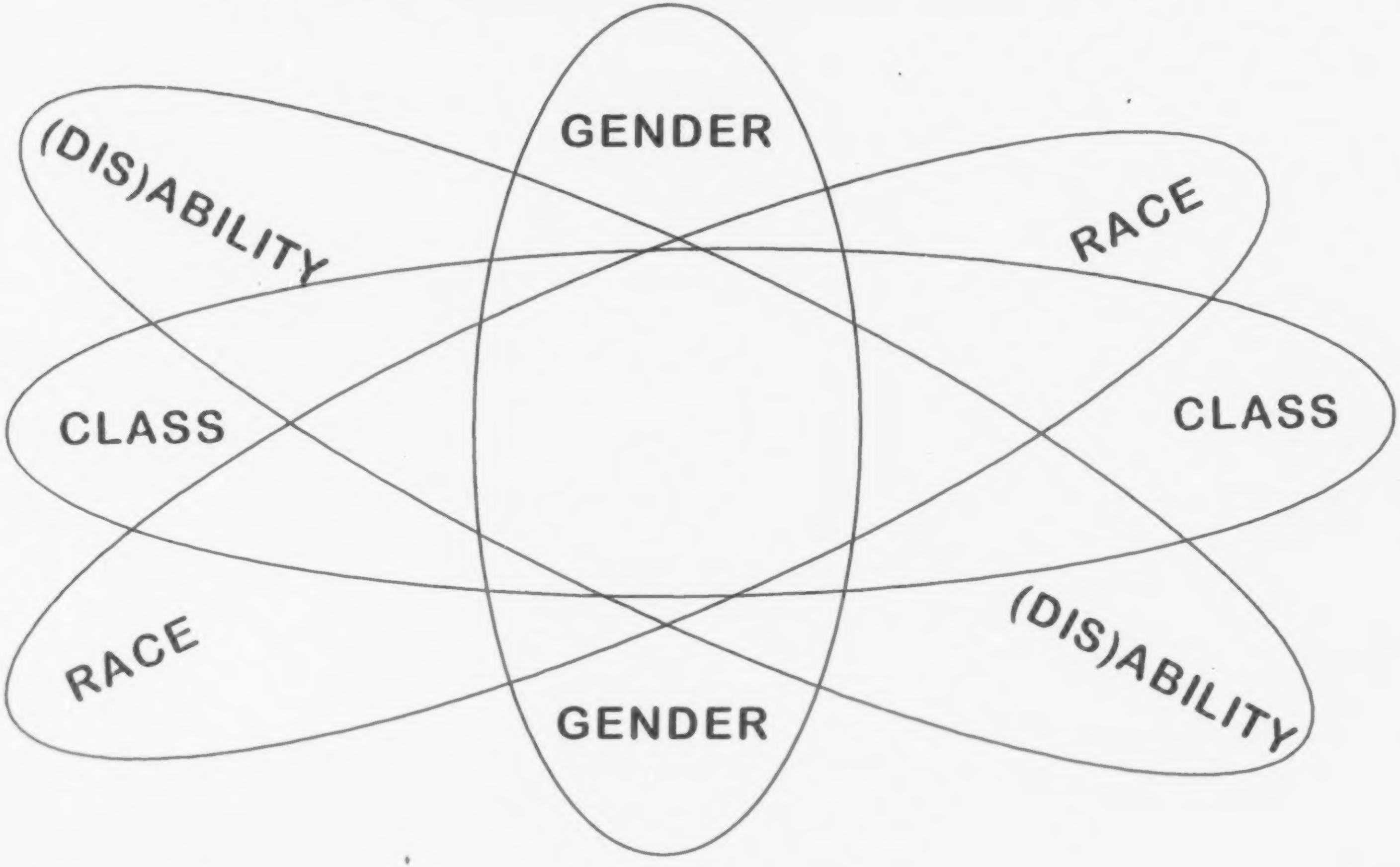
When I start thinking in terms of multiplication, it gets a little more confusing. Trying to think about all social vectors simultaneously is much more difficult. In Figure 2, I have only included four social vectors so the diagram itself would not be too complicated to read (we need to include many more vectors in our thinking that do not appear in this diagram). Social vectors are overlapping and multiplicative, even if our thought processes are linear.

When we envision social vectors as a multicultural matrix and not an additive model, we begin to realize the necessity of simultaneously including race, class, gender, and other intersections in our thinking and work. Any linear separation of vectors is artificial and incomplete.

Let me give you a couple of examples. In this excerpt from her poem entitled *The Horns of My Dilemma*, Maria Jastrzebska describes how others typically cannot see beyond one of her social vectors (i.e., disability) to realize she is a human being:

> I seem to spend
> Half my time
> Wishing
> I had horns
> On my head
> To look the part
> A rarity
> Like the almost extinct
> Wild bison of eastern Poland.
> So children could stop and point
> Look mummy that lady's got horns!
> Before being hurried along
> By some embarrassed adult....

Figure 2. A Partial Multicultural Matrix of Social Vectors


GENDER
(DIS)ABILITY
RACE
CLASS
CLASS
RACE
(DIS)ABILITY
GENDER

> Here are my tears, I say
> Salty and wet like yours
> Here are my hopes
> Which need tending
> Like anything you want to grow
> And what hurts worse
> Than any pain
> Is the denial.
>
> Why is it people
> Either think I'm just like them
> Or else
> Like nothing on this earth
> And no part of their lives?
>
> If I can live with this dilemma
> It doesn't seem too much
> To ask others
> To recognise
> How I'm different
> But very ordinary
> Ordinary and very different (1996, pp. 151-153).

Focusing on a single social vector to summarize an individual's life is dehumanizing, unethical, and superficial.

Another example is the political activism of a community of working class Black women that taught Karen Brodkin Sacks (1988) to re-vision her concept of leadership. Rather than conventional hierarchical leadership models, these women valued network centers of influence that "centerwomen" formed and maintained. The subjugated knowledge of these women who were working class and African-American produced alternative ways of interpreting experience.

Marsha Houston explains how the interlocking identities of women of color produce a "multiple jeopardy:"

> [W]omen of color do not experience sexism *in addition* to racism, but sexism *in the context of* racism; thus, they cannot be said to bear an

> *additional* burden that white women do not bear, but to bear an altogether *different* burden from that borne by white women (Houston, 1992, p. 49).

Similarly, Patricia Hill Collins (1990) describes how African-American women who file lawsuits against employers for violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act are forced to choose between race and sex discrimination rather than citing both in their complaint. She advocates we adopt a "both/and" rather than an "either/or" approach to interlocking social vectors.

How do we accomplish this "both/and" conceptualization? If we practice the feminist research methods I sketched in the first section of this paper, we will incorporate this multicultural matrix in our research. Adopting these feminist perspectives in our daily work experiences (e.g., journalists who include multicultural sources in every story; teachers who integrate multicultural perspectives in every class session) will help create holistic environments that resist dividing people into parts (or isolated social vectors). We need to consciously design our research to include multicultural participants and address their concerns and interests directly in our research questions. Since recognizing this multicultural matrix in our work is essential if we are to understand the subjugated, partial knowledges of our participants, we simply should not conduct research that does not include and address multiple social vectors.

Let me explain this point using my own research as an example. I will present a paper at the International Communications Association (ICA) convention in July based on a number of interviews I conducted with white female professors in the field.[4] Since this project was intended to be an exploratory study, I used a convenience sample that happened to be all white. From the first day I started planning the project, I could have located and requested participation from professors representing many social vectors. This process would have taken more time and effort, but I believe the research never should have been started without this approach.

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[4] I have temporarily deleted the cite of this paper in this footnote due to the blind review process.

I also needed to directly discuss social vectors with my participants. I find that I am reluctant to ask questions about race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, (dis)ability, et al. because they make me feel uncomfortable. I didn't want to make my participants feel uncomfortable either (after all, they could terminate the interview, and I would be left without any data!). Acknowledging this uneasiness is a key part of the process. As Harlon Dalton recommends, "Simply put everything on the table. Own up to the tension. Acknowledge the risks" (1995, p. 48). We need to take risks to begin to transform our thinking towards multicultural matrices rather than linear, additive models. This transformation is the only way we will be able to incorporate intersections of race, class, gender, sexual orientation, (dis)ability, ethnicity, age, religion, and many others in our everyday thinking, lives, and work.

Feminist teachers, researchers, and practitioners need to develop a willingness to examine their own privilege and put themselves at risk (Spitzack and Carter, 1988). Since "none of us are simply victims or oppressors" (Phelan, 1990, p. 429), the work of communications researchers and practitioners needs to focus on their own privilege. Papusa Molina envisions "privilege [as] accepting and recognizing the power that you have because of your privileges and using that power precisely to transform the institution that provides power and privilege to you" (Penny Rosenwasser, 1992, p. 5).

A Transformative Bridge

The second idea I want to discuss concerns the gap between mass communication practitioners and academic scholars in our field. Kathryn Cirksena (1996) describes how the applied research that is characteristic of our field tends to contradict feminist research goals. Some of the women I interviewed for that ICA paper echoed this view, describing the difficulty of teaching feminist ideas in the practical, "skills-based" classes typically found in mass communications.

I want to turn this argument on its ear by suggesting that the professional and practical orientation of our field makes it the *perfect* site in the academy for feminist work. Feminism is about applying theory to the "real" world and creating changes in women's lives (e.g., praxis or practice). Since our field is more "applied" than other disciplines, scholars and practitioners should be able to work together to incorporate feminist praxis into mass communications.

This goal may sound idealistic considering that, first, corporate interests control our field's research agenda and, second, traditional scholarship tends to discredit activist research. Things do change; persistent feminist voices are heard. Ramona Rush and Autumn Grubb-Swetnam (1996), for example, describe the forty rejection letters they received from publishers in the late 1980s who found the activist stand in *Communications at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection* (Ramona Rush and Donna Allen, 1989) unsuitable for social science publications. Following the publication of Rush and Allen's book, the number of feminist activist publications has continued to increase in mass communications.

Creating a transformative feminist bridge between practitioners and scholars in our field will take deliberate, focused effort on everyone's part. Paradigm shifts don't happen by themselves and feminists in mass communications need to generate collective action. Change cannot occur without coalition building (Johnson Reagon, 1983) and dialogue with allies (Dalton, 1995). Let me outline a few practical suggestions toward this goal.

Feminist scholars need to ask themselves, "who are we writing for?" If we want feminist scholarship to support a mass based movement, then we need to produce texts that everyone can understand. Ann Bookman and Sandra Morgen (1988) describe the importance of "scholar-activists" who contribute to clarifying feminist goals. In mass communications, we study and use the media: What better way to create new forms to present our work? bell hooks (Let's Get Real, 1993) goes so far as to suggest we create commercials for a feminist political party. Mass communications practitioners can certainly contribute to this effort.

Practitioners, researchers, and teachers often work in isolation. We need to recognize that this kind of solitude does not promote coalition building. I suggest we enhance and organize additional collective feminist movement among scholars, teachers, and practitioners within the discipline, with regular meetings in various venues (e.g., mass-mediated, small group, community-based, Internet list-servs, etc.). Professors, practitioners, students, and researchers could all contribute to develop organized activist strategies and tactics for multicultural communications in the field.

Feminist scholars in mass communications need to continue to study and expose the privilege that sustains oppressive hierarchies in our culture. When feminists examine privilege, the partitioning of feminist studies under the topic of "women" that Margaret Gallagher (1989) describes is no longer possible. As bell hooks (Let's Get Real, 1993) suggests, feminism is about everybody -- feminist work that helps culturally privileged groups recognize their privilege will generate additional support for social justice.

Building bridges is hard work. It takes a great deal of commitment, struggle, and risk. Coalitions cannot form if practitioners and scholars do not meet each other half way across the bridge. As Bernice Johnson Reagon explains:

> I feel as if I'm gonna keel over any minute and die. That is often what it feels like if you're *really* doing coalition work. Most of the time you feel threatened to the core and if you don't, you're not really doing no coalescing (1983, p. 356).

All of us in the mass communications field need to work (and I mean *work*) together in order to build transformative bridges toward multicultural communications.

Feminist Empowerment

Transforming power relations in order to empower culturally subordinated groups means envisioning a new perspective that relocates access to power and alters dominant explanations of power. Sonja Johnson (1989) describes the traditional concept of power as defined and identified in patriarchal language.[5] These patriarchal assumptions about power cause women to consider themselves powerless since they do not identify with or act in behaviors traditionally labeled powerful. Johnson contends that power is not "out there" in some external location that men can distribute to women like a commodity but that "the locus of all power is within us" (1987, p. 184). In fact, "genuine" power is a positive, generative source that women have always had (Johnson, 1989).

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[5] *Patriarchy* has been defined as historically, "any system of organization (political, economic, industrial, financial, religious, or social) in which the overwhelming number of upper positions in hierarchies are occupied by males." (Goldberg, 1993, p. 14).

Similar to Johnson's notion of generative power, alternative, positive forms of (em)power(ment) characterize much of feminist scholarship. Feminist scholars like bell hooks (1984) have encouraged women to transform the meaning of power from control and domination to new concepts that are life-affirming and creative. Power defined as ability, strength, action (resulting in personal accomplishment), and energy can be generated through activities involving consensus, rotating tasks, and internal democracy (hooks, 1984). hooks advocates the political education of women in order to raise women's consciousness of the power they can possess and exercise.

Peggy Chinn describes power as a process everyone participates in, since "power is the energy from which action arises" (1995, p. 8). By shifting the patriarchal emphasis on possessing power (e.g., "power over") to focus on how power is used and with what consequences, Chinn envisions a transformative power that creates harmony with others and meets collective goals. According to Chinn, empowerment is achieved through emphasizing collective integrity and responsibility, where every individual's contribution is fundamental to collective well-being.

Naomi Wolf (1993) outlines her conceptualization of "power feminism" with the following core tenets:

1. Women matter as much as men do.

2. Women have the right to determine their lives.

3. Women's experiences matter.

4. Women have the right to tell the truth about their experiences.

5. Women deserve more of whatever it is they are not getting enough of because they are women: respect, self-respect, education, safety, health, representation, money (Wolf, 1993, p. 138).

Wolf urges women to organize around the power they have (e.g., coalition building within community networks currently used by women; exercising consumer power; creating space for the recognition, commendation, and history of women, etc.).

Knowledge and feminist teaching are vital to the empowerment of oppressed people. Hill Collins theorizes "power as energy, capacity, and self-actualization" (1990, p. 161) that comes from subordinated knowledge. By theorizing an epistemology grounded in Black women's experiences, she presents viable cases of practical empowerment (e.g., communities that are empowered by othermothers, bloodmothers, etc.). Individual empowerment, however, is not sufficient. Although "there is always choice, and the power to act, ... only collective action can effectively generate lasting social transformation of political and economic institutions" (Hill Collins, 1990, p. 237). Feminist scholars, teachers, and practitioners in mass communications can contribute to the process of relinquishing privilege and the decentering of dominant groups through their coalition work.

Feminist theorizing that (re)defines and reclaims power is critical. Young (1992) argues that power relations are intractably related to justice in society. Hartsock confirms that:

> Political change is a process of transforming not only ourselves but also our most basic assumptions about humanity and our sense of human possibility. Political change means restructuring our organizations to reflect our constantly changing understanding of the possible and to meet the new needs and new problems we create. Political change requires strategies that attack the interlocking structures of control at all levels. *At bottom, political change is a process of changing power relationships so that the meaning of power itself is transformed* [italics added] (Hartsock, 1981, p. 16).

Scholars, therefore, need to transform definitions of power to focus on all women's empowerment. Identifying differences among women's access to power and levels of privilege will also refute the essentializing assumption that all women are equally oppressed by patriarchy. Cooper (1995) sketches several ways that culturally subordinated groups can access transformative power. She identifies strategies of resistance through the (re)deployment of institutional power (i.e., in the schools, the courts, etc.); the redistribution of access to various resources (e.g., money, property, skills); and the exposure of dominant forms of power (e.g., privilege).

The field of mass communications is the perfect site for feminist praxis/practice. Communication teachers, practitioners, and scholars need to transform their thinking to envision multicultural matrices and build the transformative bridges that will enable the empowerment of all culturally subordinated groups. Multicultural mass communications is possible: we just have to work toward its realization.

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Sexual Saints and Suffering Sinners:

The Uneasy Feminism of *The Masses*, 1911-1917

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ABSTRACT (75 words)

During the 1910s, both the women's rights movement and Socialism gained widespread support in America. This paper examines the intersection of these causes in the radical magazine *The Masses*, offering a rhetorical analysis of its verbal and visual imagery of women and the working poor. It argues that the magazine's conflation of gender and class and its inability to transcend stereotypes weakened its arguments about both women's rights and Socialism at a crucial political moment.

Sexual Saints and Suffering Sinners:

The Uneasy Feminism of *The Masses*, 1911-1917

In 1909, *Cosmopolitan* magazine[1] published a short story, "The Emancipation of Sarah," about a young Jewish woman named Sarah and her overbearing mother who believed that they had been successful in converting Sarah's immigrant suitor to feminism and Socialism. Immediately after marrying her, however, the young man put his new wife in her place, and with only a little resistance, Sarah happily assumed the role of a pious and prosperous merchant's wife.[2] Appearing in a mass-circulation magazine, this moral tale was, despite its ending, a catalog of what the mainstream press would perceive as a series of threats to the American way of life during the coming decade: feminism, Socialism, and immigration.

Most popular magazines[3] played to public anxieties about gender and class during the 1910s, when the meaning of each of these terms was very much in flux. Stories such as "The Emancipation of Sarah" referenced real changes in American society. Immigration was literally transforming the face of America, creating new subcultures and new layers of the working class; growing dissatisfaction with the political system gave Socialist candidate Eugene V. Debs nearly a million votes in the 1912 Presidential election; and millions of women were entering public life through Progressive-era reform efforts, the suffrage movement, and paid work.

Perhaps nowhere was the potential for radical social and political change more boldly articulated than in *The Masses*, an influential magazine during this era despite its small circulation[4] and brief life. Its contributors[5]--writers and artists including Max Eastman, John Reed, Floyd Dell, Mary Heaton Vorse, and (heading the art department) the "Ashcan realist" painter John Sloan--"sought to create a culture that would serve the needs of the proletariat," writes Leslie Fishbein in her history of the magazine.[6] What these Greenwich Village visionaries published from 1911 to 1917 was in fact read not so much by "the proletariat" (who couldn't afford magazines) as by bohemian intellectuals and political radicals.

The Masses is generally remembered as a political periodical, a champion of the American working class that envisioned a classless American society, and its fate is most often scrutinized as a case study of the failure of Socialism to take hold in the twentieth-century United States. Yet the magazine also championed American women and envisioned a non-sexist American society. What's more, these two themes were inextricably linked as factors in the magazine's editorial identity. The editors, writers, and artists of *The Masses* drew on widely-held stereotypes about women's "place" (private and public) and about working-class morality, intertwining the two concepts into political symbols. Indeed, this conflation may offer an alternative explanation for the magazine's downfall: its vision of feminism, while arguably radical, was romantically unreal, a blind spot that weakened the magazine's arguments about both women's rights and Socialism.

This paper re-examines *The Masses*' failed promise by assessing the ways in which ideas about class and gender intersected in its pages. Its approach echoes feminist historian Joan Wallach Scott's belief that, rather than "search[ing] for single origins," cultural historians, especially of women's history, "have to conceive of processes so interconnected that they cannot be disentangled."[7] It argues, ultimately, that it is rarely useful (or even possible) examine "images of women in" any particular medium, as though their meaning were separate from the medium's larger meaning--and yet it is also impossible to assess a medium's larger meaning without understanding how, and why, it portrayed women and women's lives.

The Scholarly and Theoretical Context for this Study

For a magazine that lasted only six years,[8] *The Masses* has received considerable attention from scholars, including two book-length works, William O'Neill's 1966 *Echoes of Revolt* and Fishbein's more recent *Rebels in Bohemia*.[9] Because several of the era's prominent painters drew for the magazine, its artwork has been the focus of several scholarly works (though all but one--Rebecca Zurier's excellent *Art for the Masses*--have dealt solely with Sloan[10]). In *Heretics & Hellraisers*, Margaret C. Jones examines the contributions of female writers and artists to *The Masses*, though her largely bibliographical work is short on analysis and does not examine the ways male contributors portrayed women.[11]

This paper extends the work of art historians by considering the relationship between the magazine's visual and verbal content--the journalistic context for the artists' statements--and by focusing on the magazine's portrayal of women. Conversely, in its close examination of visual imagery, this study adds a new dimension to the growing body of literature (by scholars such as Richard Ohmann, Jennifer Scanlon, and Ellen Gruber Garvey) on how factors of class and gender transformed the way magazines were *written* in the early twentieth century.[12]

This study offers not a quantitative content analysis, but rather what journalism historian Marion Marzolf called a "content assessment," looking not just at the images but also beyond them into their cultural and historical context.[13] As a rhetorical analysis, it embraces the notion that imagery can be "read" as a kind of language, a system of signs whose meaning is culturally shared yet also historically specific.[14] More specifically, this study examines the role of stereotypes (expressed verbally as well as visually) in political imagery.

Since they are simplified expressions of more complex ideas, stereotypes are both quickly comprehensible and inherently ideological. Especially effective in accomplishing these goals are images of, and stories about, women. In her study of the historical uses of female allegorical symbols, Marina Warner notes that in art and media, "men often appear as themselves, as individuals, but women attest the identity and value of someone or something else, and the beholder's reaction is necesssary to complete their meaning."[15] Martha Banta has similarly argued that the faces and bodies of women have long been used to express *ideals* such as liberty, justice, innocence, and compassion.[16]

Because of their easy readability, stereotypes are usually an effective means of maintaining the status quo in a society. Yet the writers and artists of *The Masses* played with stereotypes, sometimes reinforcing the imagery of mainstream media and sometimes turning it on its head. For instance, they often reproduced visual stereotypes yet chose titles or captions that were ambiguous or ironic, using using words as anchorage[17] that limited or broadened the possible meanings. Frequently words and pictures melded into what visual theorist W. J. T. Mitchell calls an "imagetext," together offering a richer message than each would alone.[18]

The ways in which *The Masses* sometimes subverted stereotypes to poke fun at conventional wisdom illustrate how alternative media function in a hegemonic[19] system by "point[ing] to the alternatives that are left, or forced, out of media content, the ways in which basic questions are dominantly framed, and the terms which are permitted within debate."[20] Yet the extent to which this "radical" magazine also reiterated mainstream notions--about both gender and class--suggests the true ideological power of cultural stereotypes. *The Masses*' uneasy relationship with such symbolic imagery resulted in its ultimate failure to advance the causes of early-twentieth-century feminism--at the same time it undermined the magazine's ability to re-envision the American political system.

Editorial Contradictions

When they wrote about or drew women, the editors and writers of *The Masses* surely meant to surprise, to disturb, to rebel against propriety. Yet in their attempts to do so, they ended up repeating conventional notions about American womanhood. Further complicating the magazine's vision of 1910s feminism[21] and Socialism was a profound classism that also permeated the women's rights movement. Just as the women's club movement imposed philanthropists' and reformers' upper-middle-class values on immigrant families (through, for instance, Americanization projects, settlement houses, and anti-vice campaigns), the well-educated if bohemian contributors to *The Masses* envisioned the future of both women and "the proletariat" in utopian rather than realistic terms.[22]

The magazine championed suffrage and, echoing the sentiment of female radicals of the day, considered women's rights to extend beyond the vote: "For the new radicals feminism promised to liberate the whole modern woman," explains Leslie Fishbein.[23] Indeed, the women's issues covered in *The Masses* included not just suffrage, but also divorce, working conditions for factory women, birth control, prostitution, and women's earning power.

Some of these articles were written by women themselves. A 1915 piece by anthropologist Elsie Clews Parsons criticized "the race-suicide croakers," conservatives who worried that the birth rate among immigrant women would ruin the "stock" of the American population. The magazine printed Emma Goldman's courtroom defense speech when she was convicted in 1916 for delivering a public lecture on birth control. Another female author proposed homemaking cooperatives to "socialize the household industry," including childrearing. In 1913, the year of a strike at silk mills in Paterson, N. J.--for which *The Masses* staff staged a fundraising pageant in Madison Square Garden--the magazine published the first-person account of a 15-year-old girl who worked there.[24]

Editor Max Eastman (a co-founder of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage) believed that Socialism and feminism were inextricably linked: "Almost from the first use of the word 'Socialism' the freedom of woman has been united with it," he wrote in a 1913 editorial.[25] Yet for many of his male contemporaries, "free love, not votes for women, was the burning question" of feminism, notes William O'Neill.[26] Indeed, it was on the subject of sexual relations between men and women that the *Masses* radicals revealed both their class blindness and their limited (if idealized) view of women's nature.

Male contributors' commentary on this subject often seemed more a matter of self-interest than politics. Floyd Dell hoped that feminism would ease social constraints on extramarital sex and relieve men of the financial burden of supporting wives: "that is what feminism is going to do for men--give them back their souls, so that they can risk them fearlessly in the adventure of life," wrote the married Dell in a 1914 article in the magazine.[27]

A more complex vision emerged in the writing of women. While most preferred monogamy, they envisioned a similar utopia: in their view, which merged Freudian theory with maternalism,[28] marriage was a sexually fulfilling union of uninhibited bodies, a psychologically satisfying meeting of minds, a spiritually uplifting mingling of souls. This "companionate" model of matrimony, based on Socialist ideals, was a glaring example of the discrepancies between the intellectual radical feminists' vision and the realities of working-class women. For the latter, marriage generally remained a necessity and a duty; what's more, since they were less able than their radical Greenwich Village sisters to secure birth control, they were less likely to think of sex as pleasure and "fulfillment."[29]

Female contributors to *The Masses* acknowledged the physical and economic burdens large families placed on working-class women. "[T]he question of birth control is largely a workingman's question, above all a workingwoman's question," wrote Emma Goldman in 1916. "She it is who risks her health, her youth, her very life in giving out of herself the units of the race."[30] The birth-control advocacy of Margaret Sanger, whose work the *Masses* praised, had been inspired by her involvement in labor-union movements. Yet both Goldman and Sanger thought of sex as feminist self-expression, and Sanger justified her activism in terms of

> a mystique about womanliness, the successor to nineteenth-century feminist notions of the moral superiority of women . . . . [she] believed in the "feminine spirit," the motive power of woman's nature. It was this spirit, coming from within, rather than social relations that drove women to revolt."[31]

Despite their hopeful vision, the Village feminists were often disappointed in their own marriages. The writings of women involved in relationships with the male *Masses* radicals reveal that often the men interpreted sexual liberation to mean receiving ongoing emotional support from one woman while sleeping with many others.[32] What's more, this interpretation still cast women in maternal roles ("mothering" their men), continued to privilege the man's professional work over the woman's, and failed to equalize (or even change) spouses' responsibilities for child care and housekeeping.

In *The Masses*' view of heterosexual unions, "[r]omance often eclipsed all other concerns," notes Rebecca Zurier. Both male and female writers "idealize[d] women as superior to corruption and competition, as creatures devoted to love and the nurturance of children."[33] In this view, women and children would thrive under Socialism not because they themselves would become independent, but rather because their husbands would be able to earn enough money to enable wives to turn their higher moral powers full-time to childrearing. Thus the magazine seemed to support the modern feminist while "actually perpetuat[ing] Victorian sexual stereotypes."[34]

The Masses romanticized not only mothers, but also their seeming social opposite--prostitutes. In fiction and nonfiction, male writers cast prostitutes alternately as nobly suffering victims, revolutionary heroines, and erotic adventurers.[35] James Henle portrayed the prostitute as "nobody's sister," adding,

> As a matter of fact, she is the sister of us all, though no one ever thinks of her as anybody's sister. . . . Yet has she faith, and the courage of the meek, and the charity born of suffering. . . . Sins? -- she has none . . . . she is as honest as the day is long . . . . She is satisfied with dry bread. . . . I doubt not that she prays more sincerely than most of our professed and obsessed reformers.[36]

Here, too, while seeming to support the most vilified of working-class women, the magazine actually glossed over the realities of their lives by sanctifying them.

Mixed Messages on Covers

Similar contradictions between professed intent and actual effect could be found in the artwork of *The Masses*, especially its covers--as well as in the "imagetexts" that resulted when words were added to pictures. One of the magazine's earliest major visual statements was "The Cheapest Commodity on the Market," drawn by Anton Otto Fisher, a German immigrant and the husband of the suffrage illustrator Mary Ellen Sigsbee.[37] Shown in Figure 1, this frontispiece was published in late 1912 and depicted actual women (not allegorical figures) as commodities in a capitalist society. Yet this shocking claim was softened by the text on the adjacent page, a paternalistic assessment of women's real value:

> From these women will come the race of the future.
> According to their health and strength will be the
> health and strength of the next generation. . . .
> Rebuke the civilization that degrades its women;
> that sends forth the mothers of the next generation
> as the Cheapest Commodity on the Market.[38]

The earnestness of this picture--conveyed not only by the setting, but also by the dark clothing of the poor--characterized three other early *Masses* covers by artists who were husband and wife. Alice Beach Winter, who also drew for suffrage publications, used a different type of maternal (or paternal) appeal in her closely-cropped face of a frightened, wide-eyed little girl, staring out at the reader and asking "Why Must I Work?" on the cover of the May 1912 issue (Figure 2). Though startling in one sense--the young laborer herself, not a benevolent protector, was the main figure and addressed the reader directly--the stereotype of a pathetic waif (representing innocence soon to be lost) was heavy-handedly sentimental and classist. The artist invoked the same stock character in Figure 3, her drawing of a wealthy family watched by a poor girl-child too naive to realize that the stockingless boy was not in fact "poorer nor me."

An even more stereotypical image (in terms of both class and gender) was Charles Allen Winter's August 1913 cover, shown in Figure 4. "The Militant" was a not a woman but a symbol, her removal from the real world suggested by the castle-in-the-air behind her. She was a cross between Joan of Arc and the Statue of Liberty: arm and determined face upraised, she marched forward into the future, protecting a less-confident woman (with an immigrant-like shawl over her head) who cowered behind her. Despite the title, this was at most a Progressive-reform, not radical, image in which, one art historian notes, "conventional notions of womanliness are grafted on what was perceived as its antithesis--militancy . . . . The character's refined, womanly appearance (her wedding ring underlines her respectability) suggest that she is a middle-class protector of the lower-class woman."[39] Nothing about this "militant" woman suggested a rejection of mainstream ideas about femininity or American women's social and class roles.

Paradoxically, the more powerful messages about gender and class in *The Masses* were conveyed by the magazine's cartoonish "joke" covers. Perhaps the most famous of these was Figure 5, by Stuart Davis,[40] which was much discussed in other periodicals of the day. The *New York Globe* reported that the cover "shows two girls' heads, not Gibson Girls, nor Howard Chandler Christy girls, but girls from Eighth Avenue way. And one of them, with a curious and slightly self-conscious look out of the corner of her eye, says to the other: 'Gee, . . .!' Most cover designs don't mean anything. But this one does."[41]

Indeed, this cover could be construed to "mean" many things. These women were not only ugly, but also unfeminine, as signified by their masculine Adams'-apples and thick necks. Unattractive women were depicted (usually as suffragists) inside popular magazines, but beady-eyed, thick-lipped creatures like these rarely appeared on a *cover*--which was meant to please and to sell. The *Globe* writer implied that these women were prostitutes ("from Eighth Avenue way"), though their clothing suggested that they were more likely to be shopgirls or housekeepers. A single tree in the background placed them outside but gave no clue as to particular location.

What gave this image its clarity was the title below it, which turned it into a joke, a send-up of mainstream magazines and conventional notions about American femininity.[42] While Davis did the drawing, the title was supplied by the art director, John Sloan.[43] With its addition, *The Masses*' radicals thumbed their noses at the popular illustrators of the day--Charles Dana Gibson, Harrison Fisher, Howard Chandler Christy, James Montgomery Flagg--whose upper-middle-class, fresh-faced "American Beauty" girls graced the covers of the popular monthlies (see, for instance, Figure 6, a "Fisher Girl" on the cover of *The Saturday Evening Post*).[44]

Yet the title that turned this image into a critique of mass media also made it safe as a cover--and not such a radical statement about women after all. The title quite clearly "located" these women as working-class Irish ("Mag"), and the phrase's self-referentiality reassured the reader that they were no real danger to anyone: these women were ugly and badly dressed, they were from the wrong part of town, *and they knew it*. They'd accidentally wandered onto the magazine cover and been caught. They became a joke, too.

Sloan's own drawings[45] used humor and irony to poke holes in conventional notions about gender and class, but he rarely did so at the expense of his working-class female subjects. His depictions of working-class women were probably the most respectful of such representations in *The Masses*. Yet Sloan, too, romanticized womanhood, a bias that undercut the power of his drawings of women.

John Sloan and the Woman in Public

Though he was hardly well-off at the time, Sloan, like his *Masses* co-workers, exoticized the poor as "other" than himself. In his diaries, he noted "how necessary it is for an artist of any creative sort to go among *common people* [emphasis his]--not to waste his time among his fellows, for it must be from the other class--not creators, nor Bohemians, nor dilettanti--that he will get his knowledge of life."[46] To this end, he took daily walks around the poorer sections of New York City. Nevertheless, his compassion was real, thanks in large part to his first wife, Dolly--a former prostitute, a radical feminist, and a Socialist who organized suffrage, birth-control, and labor demonstrations.[47] John Sloan became active in the Socialist party and did illustration work for two Socialist magazines, *The Call* and the *Progressive Woman*, before turning his primary attention to *The Masses* in 1912. During the four years he worked for *The Masses*, he contributed more than five dozen illustrations, many of them covers.[48]

Sloan reserved his greatest sympathy for poor women and prostitutes, using the figures of women to point out double standards of both class and gender. Two interior illustrations Sloan did for *The Masses* are examples. For "The Women's Night Court: Before Her Makers and Her Judges," published as a two-page spread and shown in Figure 7, Sloan chose a real-life setting he frequently visited, the women's night court at Jefferson Market on Sixth Avenue.[49] Here he reversed stereotypes of criminality and order by drawing the prostitute as the only dignified person in the room, her reserve a sharp contrast to the overbearing judge, the leering spectators, the mean-looking court officers, and the boyish policeman. Yet he also placed the prostitute on a moral pedestal. A similar message was contained in " 'Circumstances' Alter Cases" (Figure 8), showing middle-class women in transparent skirts glancing contemptuously at a woman in rags with her bare leg exposed--who looked so noble in poverty that she appeared almost Biblical. The caption under the drawing conveyed the pair's comments: "'Positively disgusting! It's an outrage to public decency to allow such exposure on the streets.'"

The latter illustration commented on class and public sexuality, concerns that were expressed more subtly in some of Sloan's other depictions of working-class women, but were nevertheless key to their meaning and impact. His cover titled "At the Top of the Swing," Figure 9, has been described by one scholar as "a poem of city youth."[50] The girl--truly a *girl*--seemed happy and carefree, yet on second glance the reader couldn't help but notice the three men sitting on a park bench behind her, staring at her. Here Sloan was acknowledging female youthful beauty and sexuality as public spectacle; at the same time, he documented the literal surveillance of young women in public. At the moment, the smiling, relaxed girl didn't care; she was "at the top of the swing." But she, like the swing, could quickly fall.

Certainly there is a happy dimension to "At the Top of the Swing," and, read more positively, it can be seen as one of many of Sloan's illustrations that offered an "affirmative statement that workers were not necessarily the pathetic stock figures of Socialist cartoons."[51] Several scholars cite this illustration as proof that Sloan depicted of working-class women in an idealized way that removed them from political concerns.[52] However, as Janice Coco notes, "if Sloan's images were simply optimistic depictions of working-class women, they would not have been so controversial in their day, nor would they remain so compelling in ours."[53]

Indeed, what first appeared to be a happy picture of a carefree young girl on a swing was in fact more complicated. Even (or perhaps particularly) as millions of American women entered public life, the spectacle of the woman in public was still troubling to many Americans, especially when that woman, or girl, was working-class. Robert Snyder and Rebecca Zurier note that even in the 1910s, "New Yorkers wondered not only how to maintain composure on the street and public transit but also how to reconcile immigrant street life, or the more athletic forms of working-class leisure, with a Victorian sense of privacy and decorum that shunned exposure and limited women's activities."[54] The frequent presence of working-class women in public in *The Masses*--and in New York--blurred both gender and class boundaries.

The two women in "Innocent Girlish Prattle--Plus Environment" (Figure 10) had certainly wandered outside geographical and behavioral boundaries. At first glance, they appeared sweet and proper, with pretty, pleasant faces and modestly long skirts. This idealization was part of Sloan's bias toward women, yet it was also key to the shock of the picture. These women were walking without a male escort at night through a bad neighborhood (signified by the "environment," the trash on the street, the slovenly woman in a doorway) without concern, and the caption beneath the title revealed the girls' vocabulary: " 'What! Him? The Little - - - - -! He's Worse'n She Is, the - - -!' " These were not just ladies out for the evening; they were, more likely, ladies *of* the evening, streetwalkers in the commonest sense.

Of course, the viewer could not be *sure* that these were prostitutes, and in this and other drawings of women in public, Sloan played with this uncertainty. Indeed, this vagueness was Sloan's most radical statement of all: not his matter-of-fact representation of prostitutes, whom vice-campaigners sought to isolate, but rather his suggestion that, given the right "environment," any woman on the street might be one.[55] In her study of Sloan's depiction of the urban prostitute, Suzanne Kinser notes that "[d]uring the Progressive Era, prostitution became a master symbol, a code word for a range of anxieties engendered by the great social and cultural changes" of the period.[56]

Sloan's "The Return from Toil" (Figure 11) turned on this ambiguity. Most scholars, reacting to the title, have interpreted this cover as another of Sloan's affirmations of happiness and comradery among working women. Robert Snyder offers a typical reading of the picture, contending that it

> depicts young women looking fashionable, high spirited, and ready for fun after being liberated from work, perhaps in the garment industry. Work has not cowed them or turned them into wage slaves with broken spirits. The evening holds the promise of unfettered leisure, of visits to a movie theater, amusement park, or vaudeville house.[57]

Yet the title contained a clue that most interpreters have overlooked: these women were returning *from* toil. If they were in fact coming home from work, not going out on the town, their attire suggested one particular occupation (a trade based just west of the garment district). Another sign that they may have been streetwalkers was the feathers in several of their hats, a symbol of prostitution in art of the era.[58] In this alternative interpretation, the light casting their shadows may have been not evening streetlight, but morning sun.[59]

"Innocent Girlish Prattle" and "The Return from Toil" were prime examples of the tensions between feminism and Socialism in *The Masses*, and of the magazine's problematic definitions of gender and class. Both illustrations made startling and, arguably, radical statements about the urban presence of bold and unrefined women; both further underscored Sloan's consistent refusal to depict working-class women as the "bedraggled sweatshop girls" other *Masses* writers described in their articles.[60] Yet in bending over backwards to avoid labeling his subjects in one way, the artist labeled them in another. In one of these scenes, prostitutes (or simply lower-class women) were dowdy but rollickingly happy; in the other, they were beautiful and young.

Indeed, one striking consistency in Sloan's "affirmative" portrayal of working-class women was that he tended to rely on the stereotypical shorthand of beauty versus ugliness to make political statements: his prostitutes were often pretty, while he drew wealthy women as ugly and overweight. One example of the latter characterization is Figure 12, a cover that poked fun at not just at wealth but idleness. (Also note the extra insult of the feather in the hair: this upper-class operagoer, Sloan suggested, was equally a prostitute to the man who paid her way.)

Conclusion

Certainly *The Masses* advanced the various causes of 1910s feminism to an extent that mainstream magazines of the day did not. And certainly the magazine made provocative suggestions about sexual double standards and economic inequities between men and women. Yet consistently--in its articles and its illustrations--*The Masses* romanticized women and their circumstances, whether superior mothers or suffering prostitutes, in ways that ultimately undermined the goals of feminism. If women were morally superior to men, then they could not be equal; what's more, their lives were removed from the gritty reality of everyday life that the male radicals claimed as their territory.

One consequence of the magazine's idealization of women was that it missed a valuable opportunity to advance feminism and combine the potential power of that political movement with Socialism. A more significant consequence for the magazine itself (given its primary agenda) lay in the fact that its writers and artists routinely used women as symbols for class, as ways of representing not womanhood, but notions about the poor. Like their female symbols, these notions--from ignorance and shame to innocence and happy abandon--were stereotypes, too. In trivializing women, *The Masses* unwittingly trivialized the working class itself.

This conflation was disastrous for any "radical" publication. Even though the 1917 demise of *The Masses* was blamed on its continuing pacifism after the U. S. entered World War I, its mission to serve as the voice of the proletariat (let alone feminists) went largely unfulfilled. The reasons why, this study contends, had less to do with how the magazine handled Socialism or feminism separately than with how it combined these twin political flames of the 1910s--only to snuff both out.

Most of the *Masses* writers and artists saw both the working class and women as something other than themselves; through symbolism, they "gendered" immigrants and poverty as female; and then they safely contained feminism by idealizing women. The outcome was much the same as that predicted by the author of "The Emancipation of Sarah" in *Cosmopolitan* less than a decade earlier. By the end of the 1910s, Sarah--who had represented all the political possibilities (or threats) of that decade--was domesticated and Americanized. *The Masses* simply ended, having done little, in the long run, to change the lives of either American women or American workers.

Notes

1. *Cosmopolitan* was then a general-interest magazine that emphasized fiction and current events, not the women's magazine it is today.

2. Bruno Lessing, "The Emancipation of Sarah," *Cosmopolitan* 46 (December 1908-May 1909), 554-560.

3. For instance, under editor George Horace Lorimer, *The Saturday Evening Post* warned readers about the "hordes" of foreigners in the United States and promoted racist works by geneticists, including Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race*; in the *Post*'s institutional sibling, *The Ladies' Home Journal*, editor Edward Bok editorialized against women's suffrage, while other writers condemned middle-class white women who worked for pay as un-American. Fuller discussion of such themes in these magazines can be found in Jan Cohn, *Creating America: George Horace Lorimer and the* Saturday Evening Post (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989); Jennifer Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings:* The Ladies' Home Journal, *Gender, and the Promises of Consumer Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995); and Helen Damon-Moore, *Magazines for the Millions: Gender and Commerce in* The Ladies' Home Journal *and* The Saturday Evening Post, *1880-1910* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994).

4. The peak circulation of *The Masses* was 40,000 according to John Lougherty, *John Sloan: Painter and Rebel* (New York: Henry Holt, 1995), 182; 20,000 according to John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America, 1741-1990* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 125; and 12,000 according to David W. Scott and E. John Bullard, "John Sloan, 1871-1951: His Life and Paintings, His Graphics" [exhibition catalog and book] September 18 to October 31, 1971 (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1971), 30.

5. *The Masses* was actually founded by a Dutch immigrant, Piet Vlag, though he ran it for only its first year.

6. Leslie Fishbein, *Rebels in Bohemia: The Radicals of* The Masses, *1911-1917* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 188.

7. Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," in *Feminism & History*, edited by Joan Wallach Scott (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 166-167.

8. The magazine published from 1911 to 1917, when its editors were prosecuted under the wartime Espionage Act. It would be reincarnated in the 1920s as *The New Masses*, but the later version had neither the following nor the spirit of its predecessor.

9. Fishbein, *Rebels in Bohemia*; William O'Neill, *Echoes of Revolt:* The Masses, *1911-1917* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1966).

10. Rebecca Zurier, *Art for the Masses: A Radical Magazine and Its Graphics, 1911-1917* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988). Sloan's contributions to the magazine are also discussed in four biographies, the most recent of which is Lougherty's *John Sloan: Painter and Rebel*; the oldest, Van Wyck Brooks' *John Sloan: A Painter's Life* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1955) is notable as well.

11. Margaret C. Jones, *Heretics & Hellraisers: Women Contributors to* The Masses, *1911-1917* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993).

12. Such works include: Richard Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century* (London and New York: Verso, 1996); Matthew Schneirov, *The Dream of a New Social Order: Popular Magazines in America 1893-1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings*; Damon-Moore, *Magazines for the Millions*; and Ellen Gruber Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlor: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s* (New York: Oxford University Press,1996).

13. Marion Marzolf, "American Studies--Ideas for Media Historians?" *Journalism History* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1978), 15.

14. Such a strategy draws on the groundwork of visual theorists Erwin Panofsky and E. H. Gombrich, the latter of whom called for an analytical process of "iconology, which investigates the function of images in allegory and symbolism" (Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* [Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955]; Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960], 9).

15. Marina Warner, *Monuments & Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985), 331.

16. Martha Banta, *Imaging American Women: Idea and Ideals in Cultural History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987).

17. I am borrowing this term from Roland Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," *Image Music Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 38.

18. W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 210.

19. Hegemony theory was first articulated by Italian political theorist Antonio Gramsci and has since become a popular lens through which to understand commercial culture. I use the term not as a synonym for dominance, but rather as a way of describing the fragile alliances, the "unstable equilibria" that exist at any moment between political leaders and followers, or, in a commercial power structure, between producers and consumers. Gramsci refined Marxist theory by contending that the consent of a populace is not enforced by some monolithic power; rather, dissenting opinions are aired, and public opinion is always contested. (*Selections from Prison Notebooks*, translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith [London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971], 80, 182.)

20. Horace M. Newcomb, "On the Dialogic Aspects of Mass Communication," in *Critical Perspectives on Media and Society*, eds. Robert K. Avery and David Eason (New York: Guilford Press, 1991), 70.

21. As Nancy F. Cott has noted in *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), the true radicals of the 1910s women's rights movement, whose goals were politically "left" of suffrage and are mentioned here, were the first to actually use the label "feminist."

22. For more on the politically complicated relationships between upper-middle and working-class women in reform movements, see Nancy Schrom Dye, "Creating a Feminist Alliance: Sisterhood and Class Conflict in the New York Women's Trade Union League, 1903-1914," in *Our American Sisters: Women in American Life and Thought*, 4th ed., ed. Jean E. Friedman, William G. Shade, and Mary Jane Capozzoli (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1987), 341-358. Perhaps compounding the classism of *The Masses* radicals was the funding they received from wealthy liberals including Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont and copper baron Adolph Lewisohn (Lougherty, *John Sloan: Painter and Rebel*, 198; O'Neill, *Echoes of Revolt*, 18).

23. Leslie Fishbein, "The Failure of Feminism in Greenwich Village before World War I," *Women's Studies* 9 (1982), 276, 279.

24. Elsie Clews Parsons, "Facing Race Suicide," *The Masses* (June 1915) and "Emma Goldman's Defense" (June 1916), both reprinted in O'Neill, *Echoes of Revolt*, 206-212; May Wood Simon, "Co-Operation and Housewives," *The Masses* 1, no. 12 (December 1911), 11; "I Make Cheap Silk," 5, no. 2 (November 1913), 7.

25. Max Eastman, "Knowledge and Revolution," *The Masses* (January 1913), reprinted in O'Neill, *Echoes of Revolt*, 132.

26. O'Neill, *Echoes of Revolt*, 179.

27. Floyd Dell, "Feminism for Men," *The Masses* 5, no. 10 (July 1914), 19.

28. The works of Freud were popularized in America beginning in 1913. Many radical feminists interpreted his theories, along with newly published works by "sexologists" such as Havelock Ellis, as both a legitimization of their own sexuality and a confirmation that women were "natural" mothers, meant to nurture men as well as children. At the very same time that human sexuality was being publicly discussed, a wave of anti-vice (anti-prostitution) crusades swept the country. This combination provoked St. Louis newspaper editor William Marion Reedy to proclaim that "sex o'clock" had struck in America; his comments were quoted that year in *Current Opinion* ("Sex O'Clock in America" [August 1913]: 113-114).

29. In her study of immigrant families living in Greenwich Village in the 1920s, Caroline Ware wrote: "The girls who faced the camera on her wedding day with that characteristic expression of impersonal and fearless resignation bore eloquent testimony to the persistence of the outlook on marriage which their mothers had had." (*Greenwich Village, 1920-1930 A Comment on American Civilization in the Post-War Years* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994; originally published Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1935], 408).

30. Emma Goldman, "Emma Goldman's Defense," *The Masses* June 1916, reprinted in O'Neill, *Echoes of Revolt*, 210. This is actually a speech Goldman gave when she was sentenced to a short prison term after giving a public lecture on birth control.

31. Linda Gordon, "Birth Control and Social Revolution," in *A Heritage of Her Own: Toward a New Social History of American Women*, ed. Nancy F. Cott and Elizabeth H. Pleck (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 461-462.

32. Ellen Kay Trimberger, "The New Woman and the New Sexuality: Conflict and Contradiction in the Writings and Lives of Mabel Dodge and Neith Boyce," in *1915, The Cultural Moment: The New Politics, the New Woman, the New Psychology, the New Art, and the New Theatre in America*, ed. Adele Heller and Lois Rudnick (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 98-115.

33. Zurier, *Art for the Masses*, 8.

34. Zurier, *Art for the Masses*, 100.

35. See, for instance, James Henle, "A Strange Meeting" and John Reed "A Daughter of the Revolution," both reprinted in O'Neill, *Echoes of Revolt*. The third description is Rebecca Zurier's characterization of one part of Hutchins Hapgood's views on the subject (*Art for the Masses*, 13).

36. James Henle, "Nobody's Sister," *The Masses* (January 1915), reprinted in O'Neill, *Echoes of Revolt*, 191-192.

37. Zurier, *Art for the* Masses, 178. Fischer also did illustration work for mass-market magazines, including *Scribner's*, *Everybody's*, *Collier's*, *The Saturday Evening Post*, and *Cosmopolitan*.

38. "The Cheapest Commodity on the Market," *The Masses* 1, no. 12 (December 1911), 5.

39. Marie Clifford, *Drawing on Women: Representations of Women and Suffrage Imagery in* The Masses, *1913-1917*, M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta (1991), 114.

40. Davis was another of the "ashcan realist" painters who dominated American art during the early 1910s.

41. *New York Globe* (May 24, 1913), n. p., quoted in Clifford, *Drawing on Women*, 101.

42. "When the cover appeared on newsstands in a gruesome shade of green," Rebecca Zurier notes, "the impact was so strong that *Harper's Weekly* reprinted the drawing as an 'anti-dote' to the current 'plague of pink and white imbecility' " (*Art for the Masses*, 49; she is quoting "Oliver Herford, "Pen and Inklings," *Harper's Weekly* 59 [September 6, 1913], 28).

43. Lougherty, *John Sloan: Painter and Rebel*, 197; Brooks, *John Sloan: A Painter's Life*, 96; Goodrich, "John Sloan, 1871-1951," 44.

44. James J. Best uses the term "American Beauty illustrators" to describe this group of magazine cover artists in *American Popular Illustration: A Reference Guide* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984). *Masses* editor Max Eastman once complained of Gibson, Fisher, and Christy that they had "given up their profession of realizing in line the varieties of life and gone into the manufacturing business" (*Enjoyment of Living*, n. p., quoted in Brooks, *John Sloan: A Painter's Life*, 96).

45. In his own day and since, John Sloan was better known as a painter who was a member of "The Eight" (which in 1910 staged the first "Independents' " exhibition, a challenge to the conservative National Academy of Design) and of the "Ashcan" school of New York City realists. Yet his magazine illustration was a significant body of artistic work in itself. A former Philadelphia newspaper illustrator, Sloan served for two years as *The Masses'* art editor and was one of its most frequent contributors. His illustrations also appeared in several popular magazines, especially *Harper's Weekly* and *Collier's*, as well as *Century*, *Scribner's*, *Everybody's*, *Munsey's*, *Good Housekeeping*, and *The Saturday Evening Post*.

46. Quoted in Brooks, *John Sloan: A Painter's Life*, 54.

47. Dolly Sloan was among the protesters who marched in the "funeral procession" for the victims of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire in 1911; she regularly attended birth-control rallies; during a textile workers' strike in Lawrence, MA, she found food and housing for children whose striking parents could no longer afford to care for them; and she organized a rally at Carnegie Hall in support of the jailed Emma Goldman in 1916. She also briefly served as business manager for *The Masses*. (Lougherty, *John Sloan: Painter and Rebel*, 165, 172-176, 198, 221.)

48. Scott and Bullard, "John Sloan, 1871-1951," 80; Roland Elzea and Elizabeth Hawkes, "John Sloan: Spectator of Life," April 26 to December 31, 1981 (Wilmington: Delaware Art Museum, 1988), 110-111; Patricia Hills, "John Sloan's Images of Working-Class Women," *Prospects* 5 (1980), 168.

49. The same issue, August 1913, contained a play "about prostitutes and the unfair court system" (Elzea and Hawkes, "John Sloan: Spectator of Life," 112).

50. Lloyd Goodrich, "John Sloan, 1871-1951," January 10 to June 8, 1952 (New York: The Whitney Museum of American Art, 1952), 44.

51. Goodrich, "John Sloan, 1871-1951," 44.

52. Scholars who hold this view include Lougherty (*John Sloan: Painter and Rebel*), 113; Hills, "John Sloan's Images of Working-Class Women," 168, 189; and Goodrich, "John Sloan, 1871-1951, 44.

53. Janice Marie Coco, *John Sloan and the Female Subject*, Ph. D. diss., Cornell University (1993), 56.

54. Robert W. Snyder and Rebecca Zurier, "Picturing the City," in *Metropolitan Lives: The Ashcan Artists and their New York*, ed. Rebecca Zurier, Robert W. Snyder, and Virginia M. Mecklenburg (New York. W. W. Norton, 1995), 135.

55. This uncertainty has bothered scholars as well. In an analysis that reinforces stereotypes of prostitutes as hard-hearted and evil, Robert Snyder writes of Sloan's mixed signals: "Since he portrayed [all of his] working-class women as sexually expressive, but with consistent warmth and humanity, it is difficult to tell" whether or not they were prostitutes ("City in Transition," in *Metropolitan Lives*, 48).

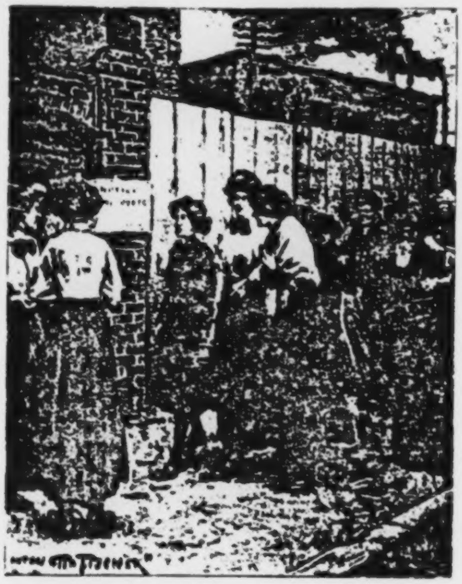
56. Suzanne L. Kinser, "Prostitutes in the Art of John Sloan," *Prospects* 9 (1984), 233.

57. Snyder, "City in Transition," 45-46.

58. Kinser, "Prostitutes in the Art of John Sloan," 234.

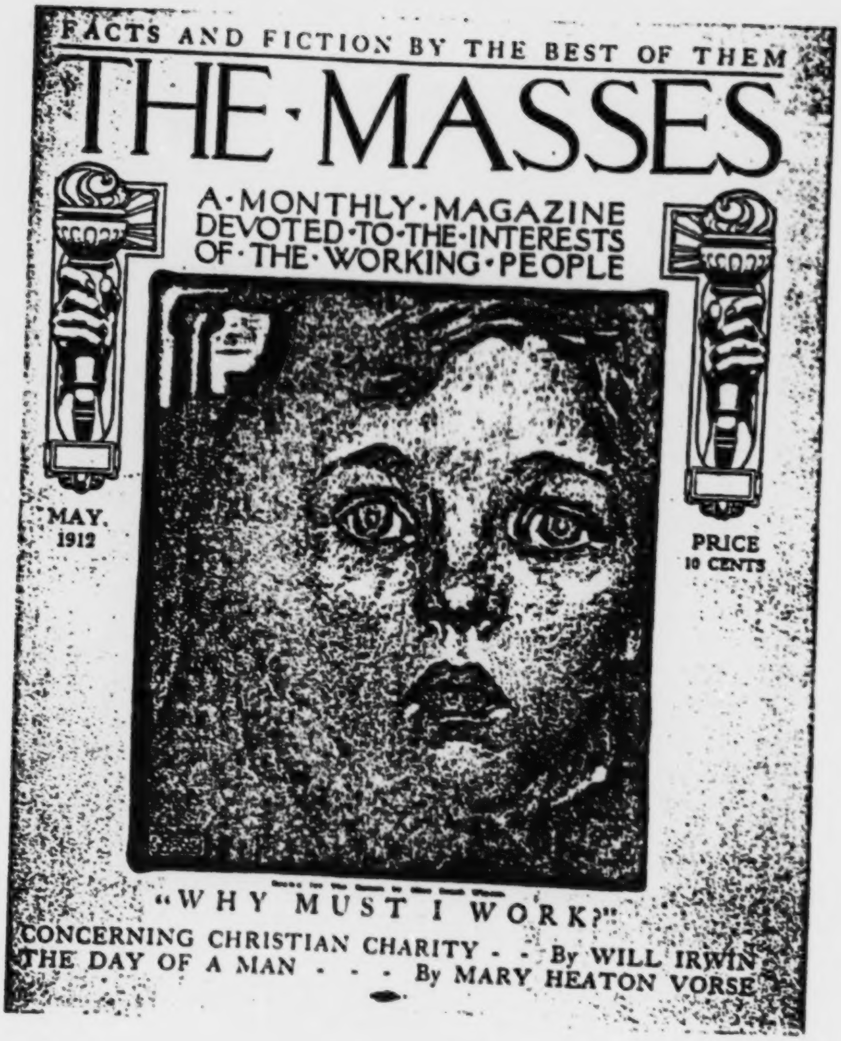
59. Again, however, these women were not *necessarily* prostitutes. As Kathy Peiss has noted, unmarried working-class women of the era created a culture of their own, a community in which they sought to compensate for "the grinding workday" with "the glittering appeal of urban nightlife" and in which they constructed their own bold versions of the New Woman. Their appearance--"flashy colors, gaudy hats, and cosmetics"--was part of the social statement they made as they flirted with the seedier side of street life: "In the promiscuous spaces of the streets, theaters, and dance halls, prositutes provided a cultural model both fascinating and forbidden to other young working-class women. . . . [who] might appropriate parts of the prostitute's style as [their] own." (*Cheap Amusements*, 63, 65, 66.)

60. Lougherty, *John Sloan: Painter and Rebel*, 183.



THE CHEAPEST
COMMODITY ON THE MARKET

FIGURE 1



FACTS AND FICTION BY THE BEST OF THEM

THE·MASSES

A·MONTHLY·MAGAZINE
DEVOTED·TO·THE·INTERESTS
OF·THE·WORKING·PEOPLE

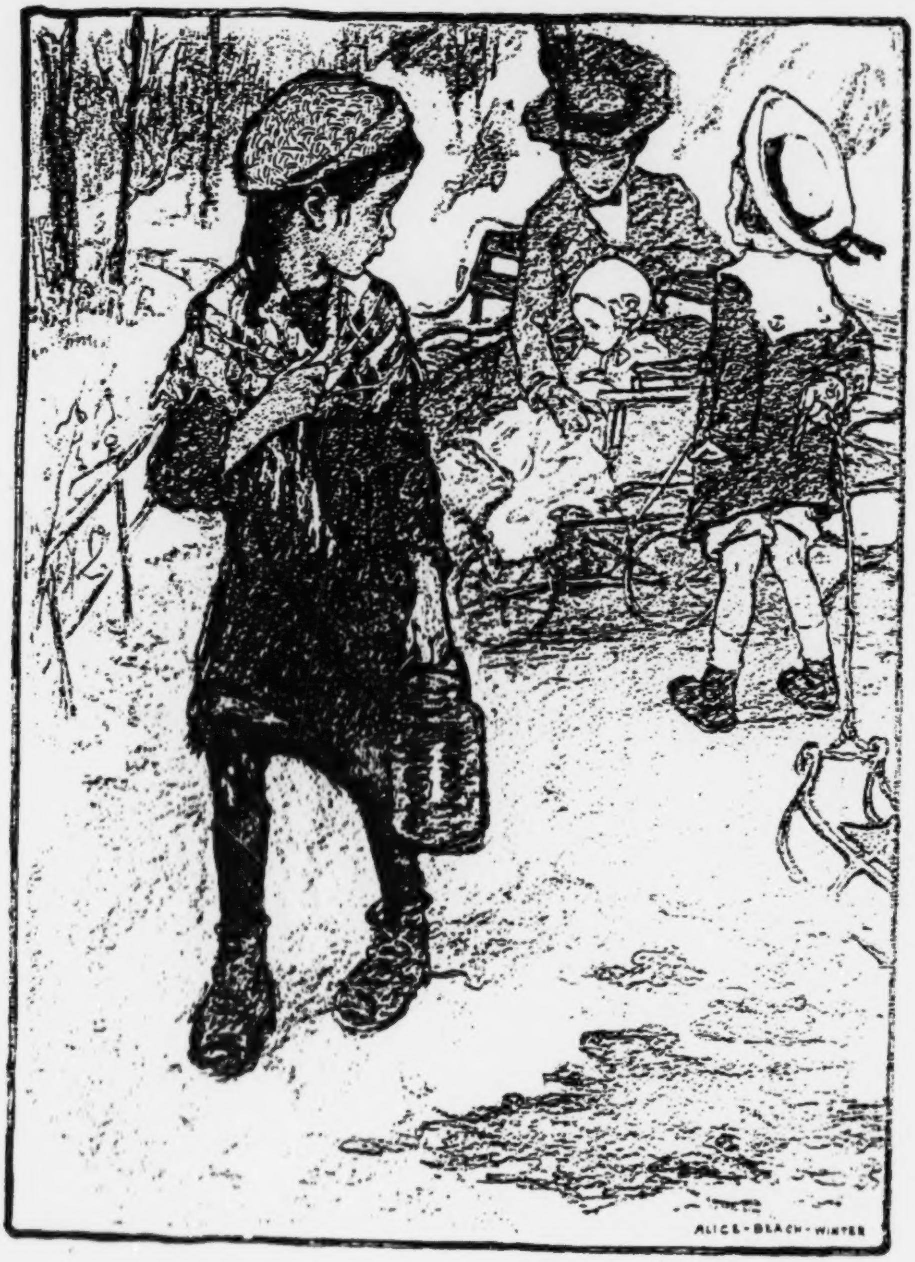
MAY,
1912

PRICE
10 CENTS

"WHY MUST I WORK?"

CONCERNING CHRISTIAN CHARITY - - By WILL IRWIN
THE DAY OF A MAN - - - By MARY HEATON VORSE

FIGURE 2

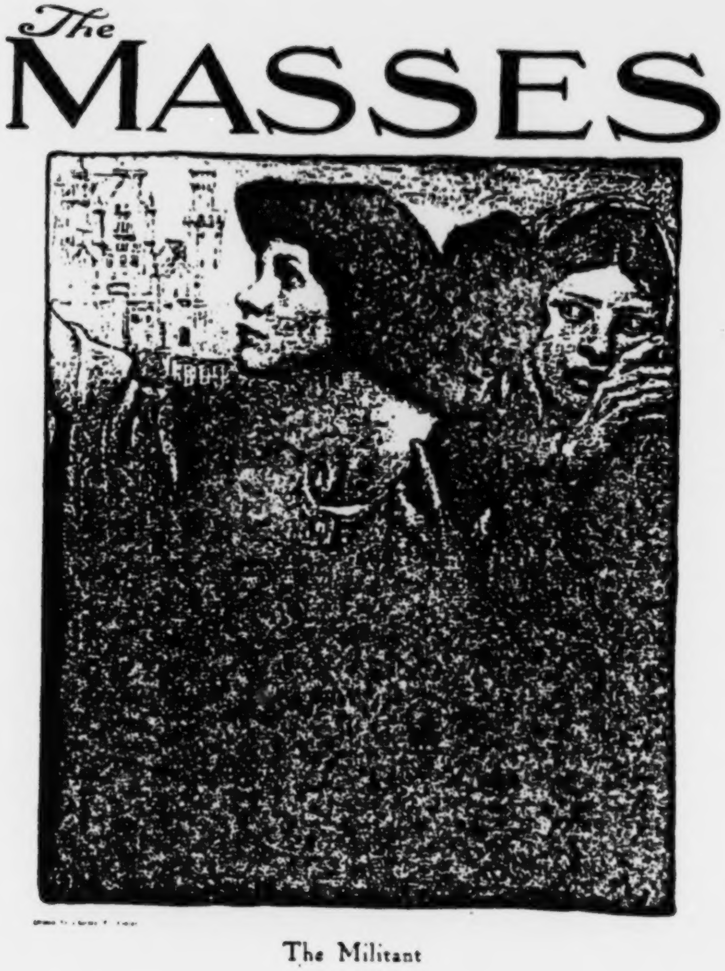

ALICE-BEACH-WINTER

Drawn by Alice Beach Winter, January 1913

"He ain't got no stockin's, he's poorer nor me."

FIGURE 3

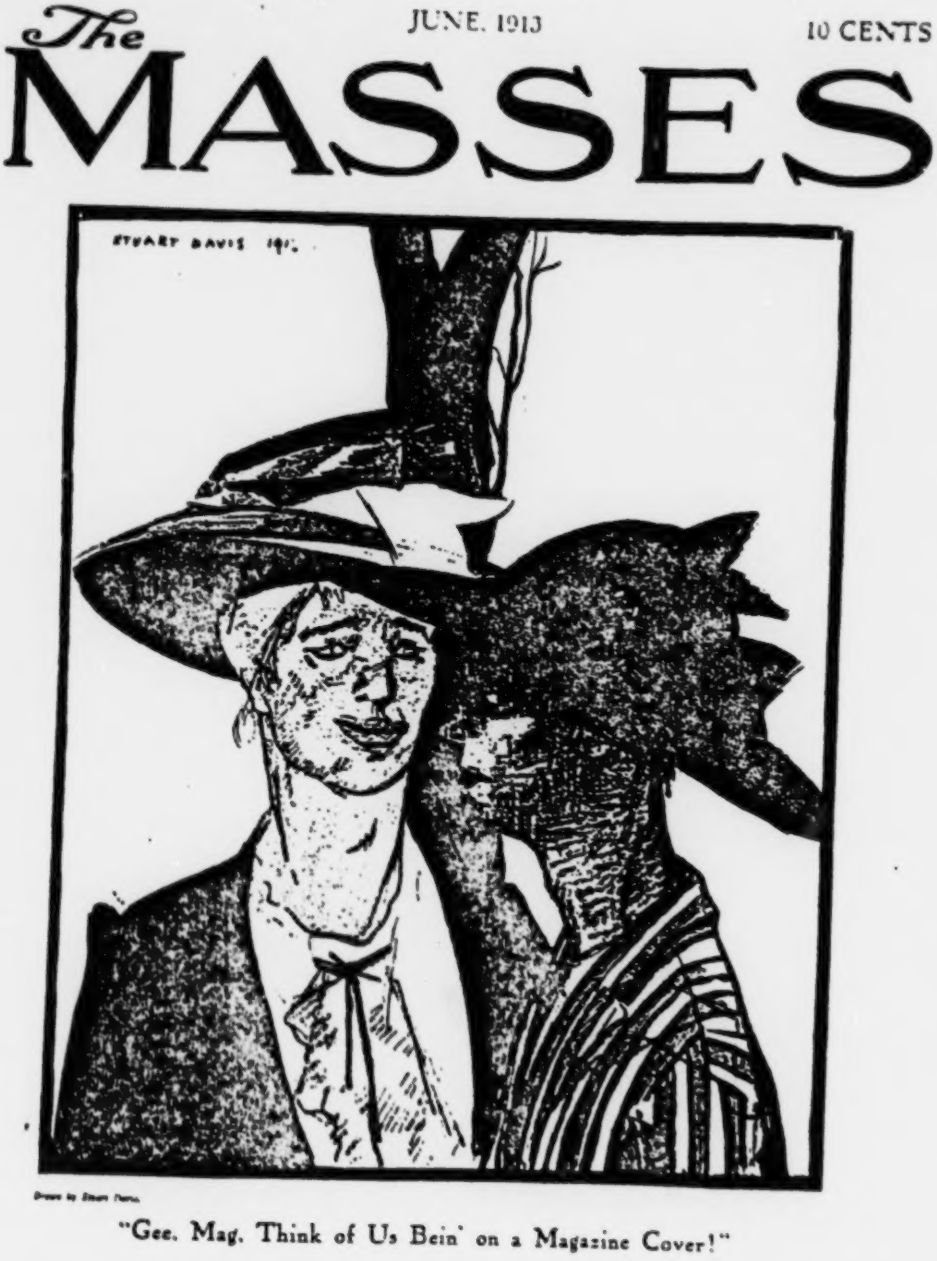
BEST COPY AVAILABLE



The MASSES

The Militant

FIGURE 4


STUART DAVIS 1913

The MASSES

JUNE, 1913

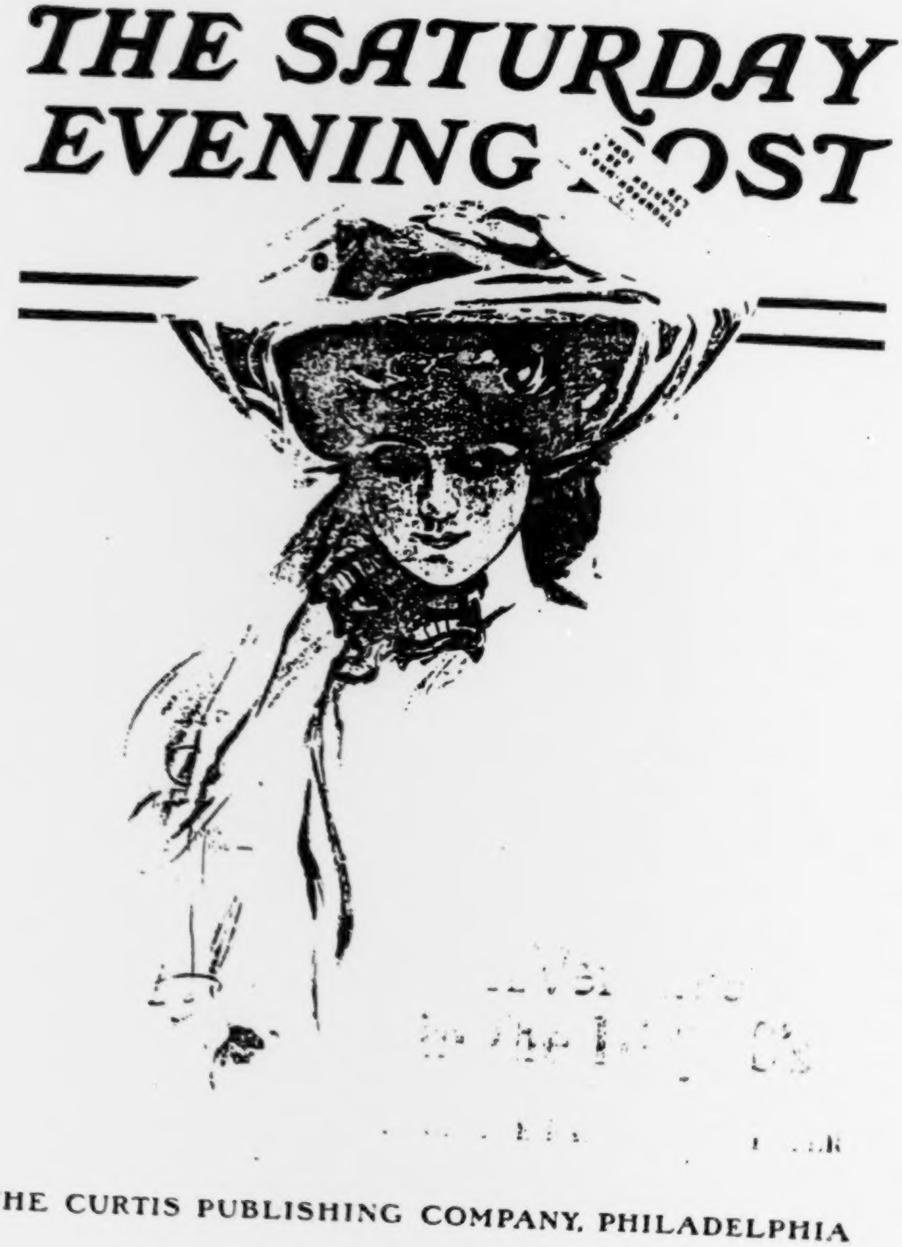
10 CENTS

Drawn by Stuart Davis

"Gee, Mag, Think of Us Bein' on a Magazine Cover!"

FIGURE 5

BEST COPY AVAILABL



THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

[illegible]

THE CURTIS PUBLISHING COMPANY, PHILADELPHIA

FIGURE 6

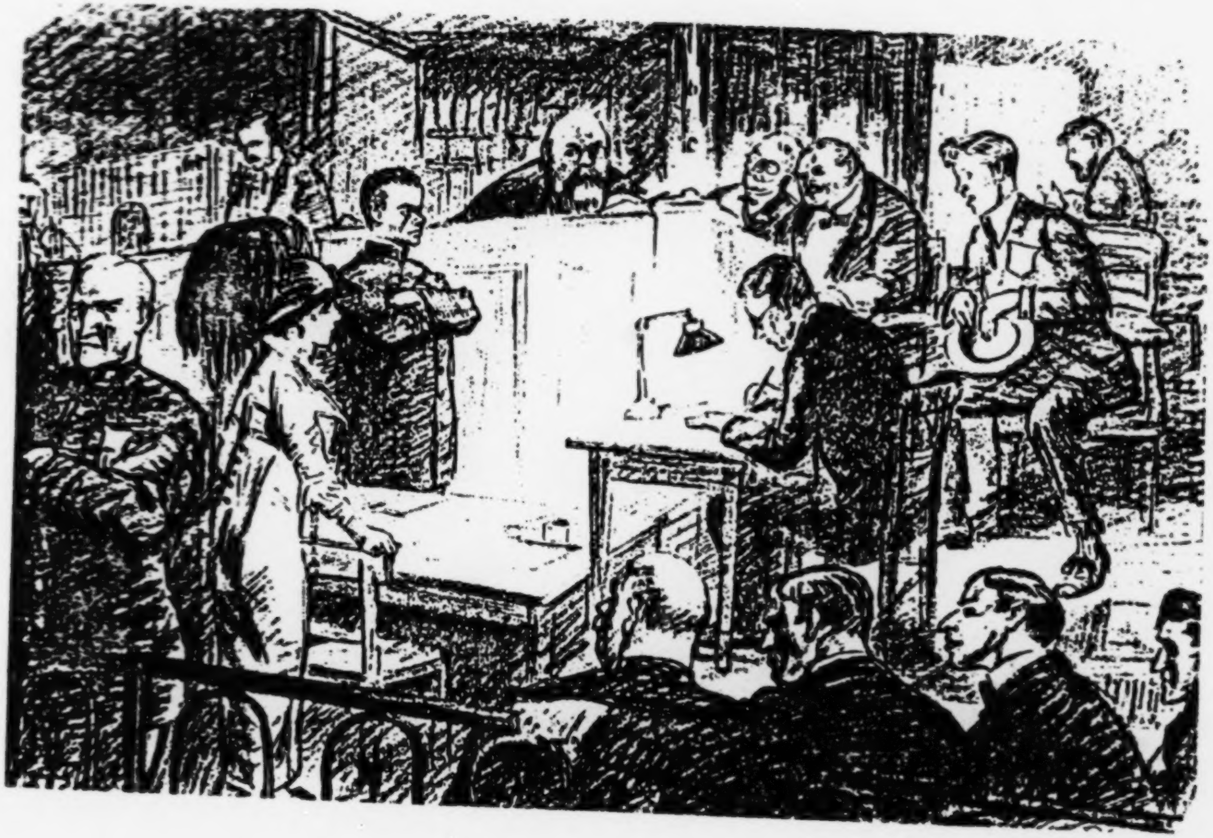


FIGURE 7

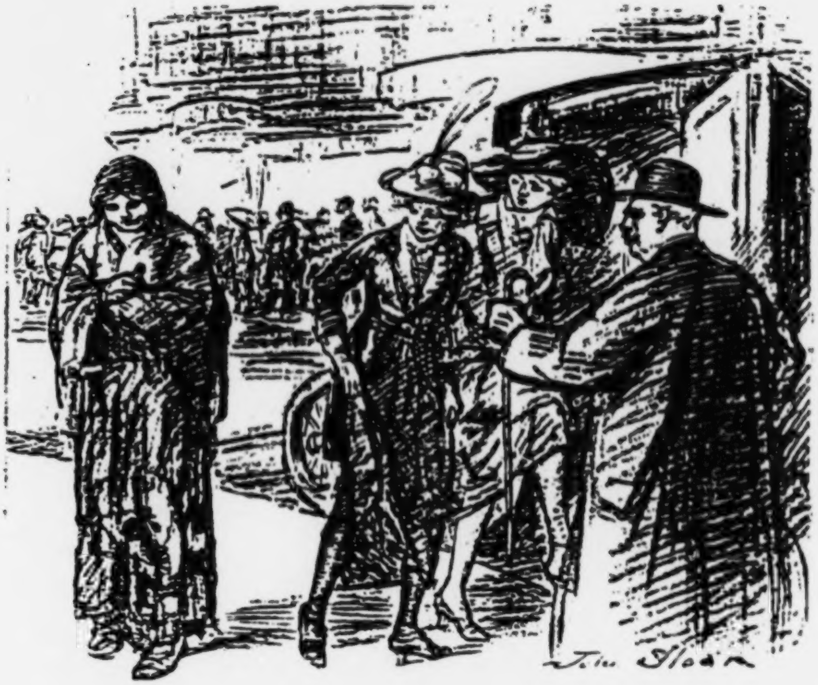


FIGURE 8

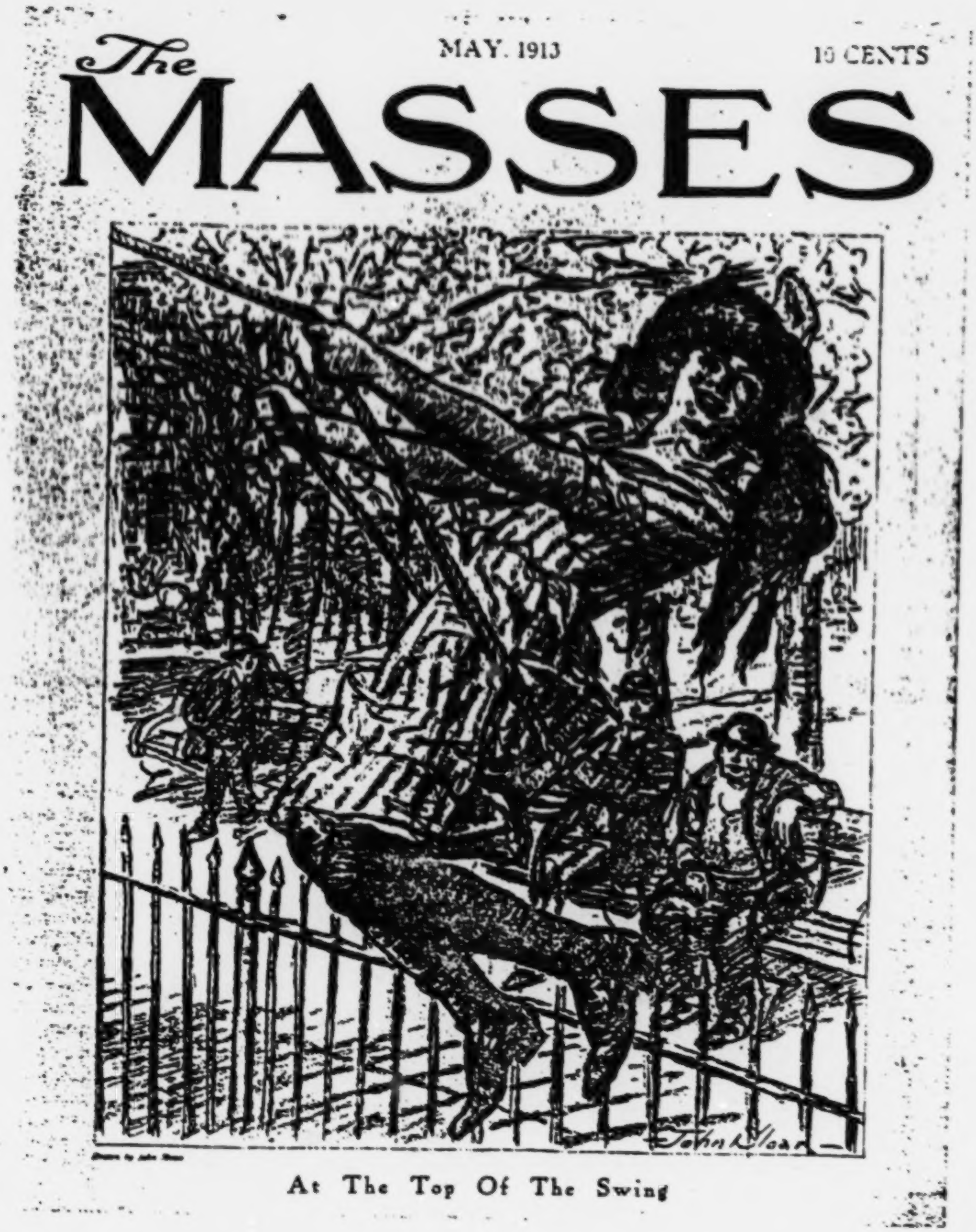
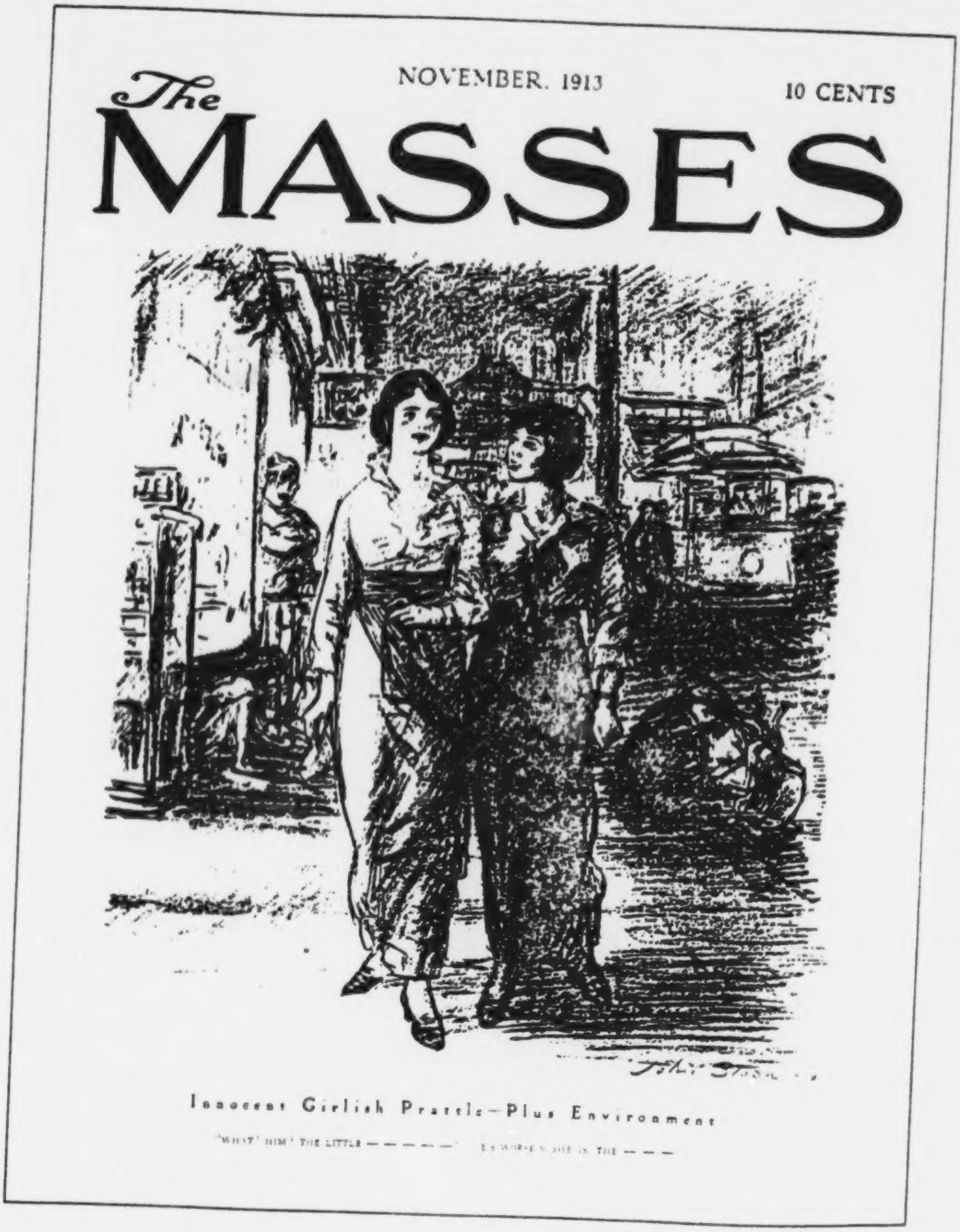

The MASSES
MAY, 1913
10 CENTS
John Sloan
At The Top Of The Swing

FIGURE 9

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



NOVEMBER, 1913

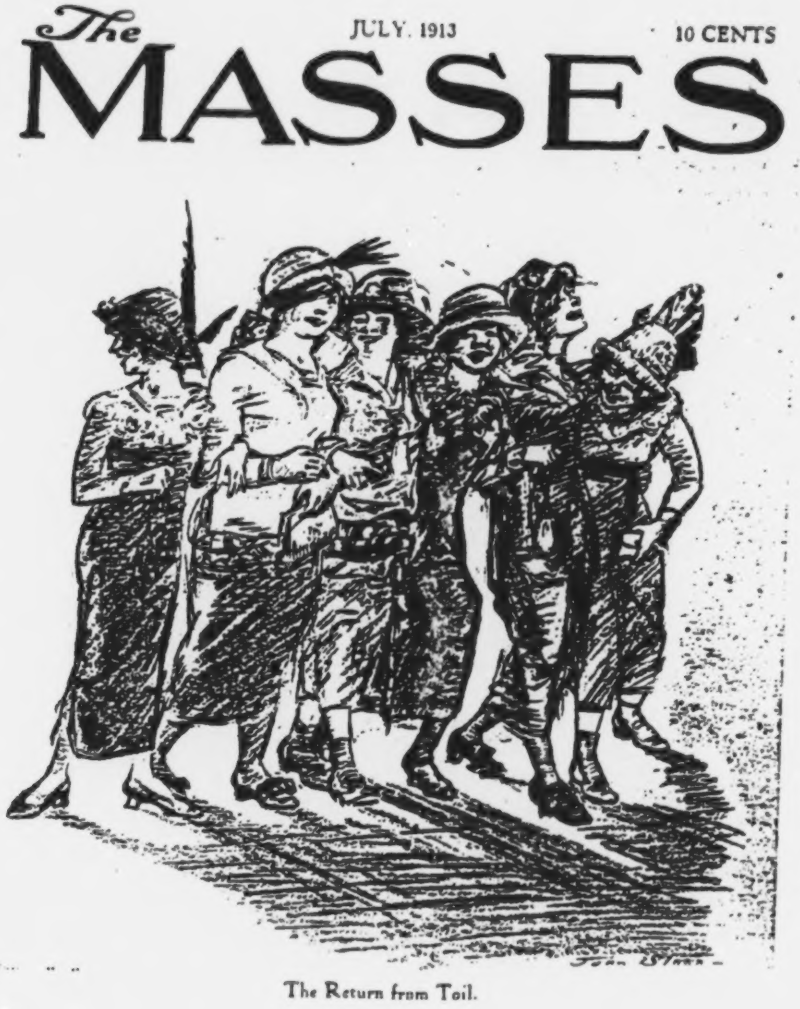
The MASSES

10 CENTS

Innocent Girlish Prattle—Plus Environment

'WHAT! HIM! THE LITTLE — — — — —' [illegible] WORSE'N SHE IS, THE — — —

FIGURE 10



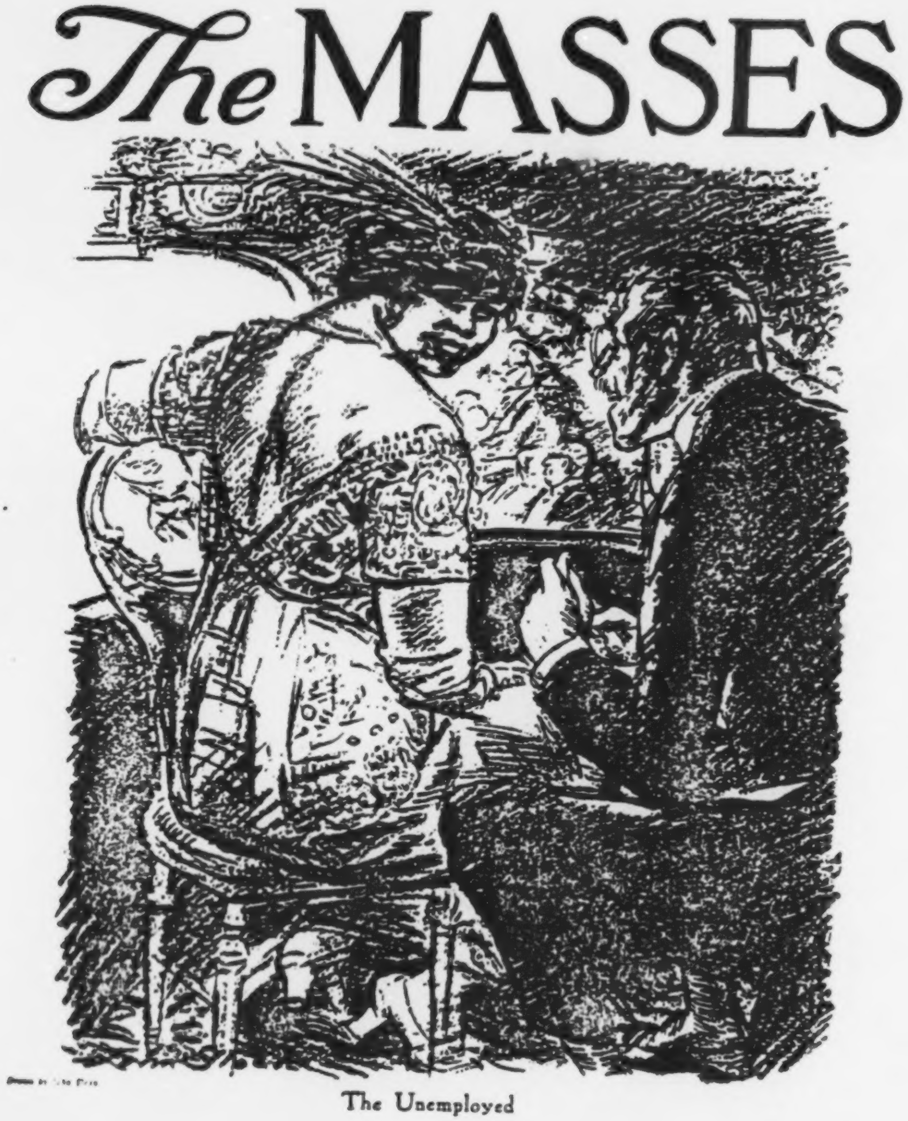
The MASSES

JULY, 1913

10 CENTS

The Return from Toil.

FIGURE 11



The MASSES

The Unemployed

FIGURE 12

MARY, PATRICIA, MAXINE AND CYNTHIA: TRACING THE STORIES BEHIND THE FIRST RAPE VICTIM IDENTIFICATION DEBATES, FROM COLUMBIA S.C. 1909 TO THE U.S. SUPREME COURT 1975

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Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
Conference: August 5-8, 1998
Baltimore, Maryland

MARY, PATRICIA, MAXINE AND CYNTHIA: TRACING THE STORIES BEHIND THE FIRST RAPE VICTIM IDENTIFICATION DEBATES, FROM COLUMBIA S.C. 1909 TO THE U.S. SUPREME COURT 1975

"There are some amendments to the criminal statutes that I consider of great importance and which I think should be passed by your honorable bodies of this session. They are in the interest of the good order and peace of the State. I called attention to them in my inaugural address in January 1907, and, as they have not been enacted into law since that time, I wish to repeat the recommendations now and to say that subsequent events in this State have confirmed my opinion that the recommendations were right and proper. ... enact a law providing the death penalty to any male person making an assault upon a female with intent to ravish, ... it behooves us to wake up to the situation and make the penalty so severe that the women of this State may be protected from this heinous crime. ... I think it important also to ask that you pass an act making it a misdemeanor to post or display in any public place or on any street or highway indecent pictures of females. It is an evil that has been growing in the last few years, and one that calls for action on our part. It is not necessary for me to call to your attention the reasons why this act should be passed; it is obvious to all right-thinking persons."

-- Gov. Ansel's Annual Report to the S.C. General Assembly, Jan. 13, 1909[1]

"Aurelius Christian, the negro who yesterday criminally assaulted and then murdered Miss Mary Dobbs, the pretty 14-year-old daughter of a prominent Botetourt county farmer, was today sentenced to die in the electric chair in the State penitentiary on March 22."

-- As reported in The (S.C) State, Feb. 20, 1909[2]

"A motion was made to table the bill, which would make it a misdemeanor to publish the name of a woman upon whom assault was attempted. Mr. Ayer, who made the motion, said it was a dangerous step to take and the liberty of the press should not be tampered with. The good sense and judgment of the newspapers should be trusted. The bill was passed, however."

-- As reported in The (S.C.) State, Feb. 21, 1909[3]

The history of the debate over the identification of rape victims in the press did not begin with the 1989 Des Moines Register editorial by Geneva Overholser urging rape victims to speak out and agree to be named in the press in order to expose "this awful crime."[4] And despite TIME's suggestion that an "angry debate" about the disclosure of rape victims' names was ignited in 1991 with the identification of Patricia Bowman by The Globe,[5] journalists, jurists, feminists, scholars, ethicists, psychologists and others grappled with the issue of naming rape victims long before Bowman, Ziegenmeyer, Desiree Washington, and the Central Park jogger made headlines.[6] The debate goes back even further than the 1975 precedent-setting U.S. Supreme Court decision in Cox Broadcasting Corp. v. Cohn.[7] The history of the debate over the identification of rape victims can be traced back nearly 90 years to a South Carolina General Assembly Room in Columbia in 1909.[8]

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[1] "Gov. Ansel's Message: Annual Report to the General Assembly on Conditions in South Carolina - Recommendations," The (S.C.) State, 14 January 1909, 6.

[2] "Death Sentence Day After Crime, Negro Who Assaulted Girl Thursday Condemned to Die," The (S.C.) State, 20 February 1909, 1.

[3] "Some Local Matters Passed in the House," The (S.C.) State, 21 February 1909, 3.

[4] Geneva Overholser, "American Shame: The Stigma of Rape," The Des Moines Register, 11 July 1989. Overholser is the former editor of The Register. See series by Register reporter Jane Schorer detailing the story of Nancy Ziegenmeyer, her rape, and the subsequent trial and conviction of her assailant. The series, which went on to win the Pulitzer Prize, began in the 5 February 1990 editions of The Register. See also

The 1909 South Carolina statute was the first measure of its kind in the United States, adopted with the intent of punishing the press for revealing the name of "any maid, woman, or woman-child" who had been sexually assaulted.[9] While the first legal opinion on such a law was not to be decided until 1948,[10] the underpinnings for this decision took shape in South Carolina in 1909. Two other Southern states soon followed suit. In 1911,

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Overholser, "We Should Not Have to Keep Hiding Rape," ASNE Bulletin, (November 1989), 32; Overholser, "Covering Rape: A Time in Transition," ASNE Bulletin, (October 1990), 12-14, 16; and Schorer, "The Story of Rape," The Quill, (May 1990), 19.

[5] Margaret Carlson, "Should This Woman Be Named?" TIME, 29 April 1991, 28. The debate has been dubbed an "angry" and "bitter" one because, as Susan Estrich explains, rape victims are treated differently, by society and by the criminal justice system, than any other crime victims. See Estrich's "Rape" 95 Yale Law Journal (1986), 1087. Patricia Bowman is the Florida woman who accused William Kennedy Smith, Senator Edward Kennedy's nephew, of rape in April 1991. Bowman's identity was first revealed by The Globe, a nationally circulated tabloid based in Boca Raton, Florida. See Fox Butterfield and Mary B.W. Tabor, "Woman in Florida Rape Inquiry Fought Adversity and Sought Acceptace," The New York Times, 17 April 1991, 17A.

[6] The 28-year-old New York woman who eventually came to be known by many as the "Central Park Jogger" first made headlines in April 1989 after she was raped, sodomized and assaulted by at least six youths in New York's Central Park. See William Glaberson's "Times Article Naming Rape Accuser Ignites Debate on Journalistic Values," The New York Times, 26 April 1990, 12A; "Most Papers Won't Name the Jogger," The New York Times, 13 June 1990, 3B; as well as Chapter 6 of Helen Benedict's "Virgin or Vamp: How the Press Covers Sex Crimes" (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 189-249. Desiree Washington is the woman raped by heavyweight boxing champion Mike Tyson in 1991. Upon Tyson's release from prison in March 1995, the Sunday London Times ran this caption: "Washington: forgotten" (19 March 1995, 19A).

[7] Cox Broadcasting Corp. v. Cohn, 420 U.S. 469, 95 S.Ct. 1029 (1975).

[8] Acts 1909, no. 129, S.C. Criminal Code 317.

[9] Quoted from original Clerk of Senate notes, Note No. 153, Code Commissioner No. 129. Note was delivered to Gov. Ansel at 10:30 a.m., 1 March 1909, for signing. Document courtesy of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, S.C.

Georgia and Florida passed similarly worded statutes.[11] While legal scholars (as did South Carolina's Gov. M.F. Ansel) note that the purpose of these measures was to encourage a rape victim to report the crime and to testify at trial without fear that her privacy would be lost upon disclosure of her identity, the statutes were rarely tested.[12]

The purpose of this paper is to trace the history of the rape victim identification debate from passage of South Carolina's (and the nation's) first statute in 1909 to that state's first true legal challenge of the measure in 1963's Nappier and Gunter v. Jefferson Standard Life Insurance Company and Jefferson Standard Broadcasting Company,[13] through the 1975 U.S. Supreme Court decision of an Atlanta, Georgia-based case, Cox Broadcasting Corp. v. Cohn.[14] This paper seeks to articulate the social and political contexts of the times, as well as to extend the history of the legal debate to its use in present-day discourse. South Carolina Gov. Ansel noted a "wake up" call in his 1907 inaugural address, calling for the "protection of women in this State" from the "heinous crime" of rape and sexual assault. Some 50 years later, in the same state, such questions regarding "unwarranted invasions of privacy" and "absolute press rights" were noted in Nappier.[15] The questions, for the most part, remain largely unanswered even today. The stigma associated with rape continues. And while the ethical debate over the publication of rape victims' names continues in many a newsroom across the United States, the legal quandaries over First Amendment freedoms and privacy protection issues continue in the courtrooms. By focusing a light of analysis, particularly of feminist and feminist legal analysis, on the stories of Mary, of Patricia and Maxine, and Cynthia it is hoped that we can better see the shadows from which press coverage of the Nancy Ziegenmeyer/Des

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[10] See State v. Evjue, 253 Wis. 146, 33 N.W.2d 305 (1948).

[11] Acts 1911, ch. 6226, 1 Florida Comp. Laws, 3222(a) (1914), and Stats. 1911, p. 179, Georgia Criminal Code Ann., 343 (1914).

[12] See "Gov. Ansel's Message," The (S.C.) State, 14 January 1909, 6. See also Marc Franklin, "A Constitutional Problem in Privacy Protection: Legal Inhibitions on Reporting of Fact," 16 Stanford Law Review, (1963), 107, 128.

[13] 322 F.2d 502 (4th Circuit, 1963), currently the only S.C. decision construing the South Carolina statute.

[14] Cox Broadcasting Corp. v. Cohn, 420 U.S. 469, 95 S.Ct. 1029 (1975).

Moines Register story, the Patricia Bowman/William Kennedy Smith story and the Central Park jogger story, among others, emerge. Perhaps, then, we can better envision more concrete answers to the victim identification debate.

In a brief filed before the 1975 decision in Cox Broadcasting Corp. v. Cohn, attorneys for Cox state that there is "no real legislative history" for the enactment of the 1909 South Carolina statute or the 1911 statutes passed in Florida and Georgia.[16] The attorneys, for the most part, appear to be correct. Although the legislative histories behind the passage of the South Carolina, Florida and Georgia statutes are not as clearly preserved as, for the example, the history of South Carolina lawmakers' movements to erect a monument to "the heroism, fidelity and fortitude of the women of South Carolina" during the Civil War[17] or the history of Georgia legislators' attempts to allow women to actually practice law in Georgia after graduating from law school,[18] the statutes' histories can be partially reconstructed. Part I examines the origins of these first measures.

Part II focuses on the press coverage that led to the 1963 4th Circuit Court decision in Nappier v. Jefferson Standard Life Insurance. The story of how reporters' photographs (of a station wagon driven by two sexual assault victims) turn into a controversial media event unfolds in Part II.

The 1975 decision in Cox Broadcasting Corp. v. Cohn marks the first time the U.S. Supreme Court enters the legal contest over whether rape victims should or should not be identified by the press. Part III explores the actual case as well as the tension that exists when press freedom or a public's right to know clashes with an individual's privacy or right to be let alone. Who brought charges against whom in Cox? Why? What were the

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[15] 322 F.2d 505 (4th Circuit, 1963).

[16] David L. Freeman and Alfred F. Burgess, Brief for Multimedia, Inc., (Wyche, Burgess, Freeman and Parham: Greenville, S.C., 1973), 4.

[17] "Lists of Acts Enrolled by General Assembly," The (S.C.) State, 2 March 1909, 2.

[18] "A Bill to Admit Women to Bar," Atlanta Constitution, 1 July 1911, 5 and "Halt!" Atlanta Constitution, 14 July 1911, 1. Papers courtesy of the Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia.

challenges to the 1909 and 1911 measures? These are some of the questions raised in Part III.

Part IV argues that feminist analysis has, for the most part, been left out of the debate -- historically, legally and journalistically. The coverage of rape, of sexual assault, hasn't changed much since Nappier and Cox. Why is this?

I. Protecting the Name of 'Any Woman, Maid or Woman-Child'[19]

> Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina, that whoever publishes, or causes to be published, the name of any woman, maid or woman-child, upon whom the crime of rape or an assault with intent to ravish has been committed or alleged to have been committed, in this State in any newspaper, magazine, or other publication, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than one-thousand dollars, or imprisonment of not more than three years: Provided, the provisions of this Act shall not apply to publications made by order of the court.[20]

The criminal assault and stabbing death of Mary Dobbs on February 18, 1909, is probably not the only rape and sexual assault case to spark the interest of South Carolina lawmakers, but it did come just two days before members of South Carolina's House of Representatives ordered a third and final reading of the first bill ever to restrict the publication of a rape victim's name. And her story was Page 1 news. The House favorably passed the bill on for ratification on February 20, 1909.[21] The bill became law on March 1, 1909.

Called the "pretty 14-year-old daughter" by the press, Mary Dobbs was on her way to a store when Aurelius Christian said he hid in the woods, then "seized her and, after assaulting her, cut her throat and stabbed her three times in order to keep her from telling."[22]

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[19] Original wording found in Acts 1909, no. 129, S.C. Criminal Code 317.

[20] From "Acts and Joint Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina Passed at the Regular Session of 1909" (Columbia, S.C.: Gonzales and Bryan, State Printers, 1909), 208.

[21] "Journal of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of California" (Columbia, S.C.: Gonzales and Bryan, State Printers, 1909), 778.

Mary's story and the mention of her name -- twice in the Page 1 story in the February 20, 1909, edition of The State -- serve as examples of the typical type of press coverage of the day. While unity between the North and South had been secured and the industrial revolution had spilled railroads, telegraph and telephone lines, factories and mills across the face of America, women did not yet have the right to vote.[23] Stories about crime, cotton prices, local and state politics were the norm. Women received some news coverage, albeit often in reference to social fare.[24] Mary's story and others found while examining Columbia, South Carolina's The State as well as The Atlanta Constitution from 1909 to 1914 bear this out. On one hand, various females, like Mary, were called "pretty," "promising" and "loyal mothers," rather protectionist language. On the other hand, four (male) members of the Georgia House of Representatives were featured in the Atlanta Constitution on July 1, 1911, introducing a bill to allow women to practice law in Georgia when they had graduated from law school.[25] Buried in the midst of the male lawmakers' names and actions was the story of Minnie Anderson Hale of Alabama who, after graduating from the Atlanta Law School, was refused a license to practice law in Georgia because it "was against the law of the State."

While women may have been headed onto the legal playing grounds in Georgia, no woman served as a member of the South Carolina General Assembly that passed the 1909 statute that punished the press for naming rape victims. The force behind the passage of this measure seems to be B.F. Kelley, a lawyer from Lee County, South Carolina. Kelley was chairman of the Privileges and Elections Standing Committee in the Senate. He was also an active member of the Legislative Library, Enrolled Bills, Dispensary, Railroads and Internal Improvements committees. On January 25, 1909, "Mr. Kelly" (sic) read the original wording of the bill and referred it to the Committee on the Judiciary.[26] On February 6, 1909, L.M. Gasque, an attorney from Marion, submitted a favorable report on the bill from the Committee on the Judiciary. By mid-February, H.M. Ayer, an editor from Florence and one of only two journalists serving as a member of the House of Representatives at the time, moved to recommit the bill and addressed the House against passage of the bill. According to Ayer, the measure was a "dangerous step to take and the liberty of the press should not be tampered with. The good sense and judgment of the newspapers should be trusted."[27]

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[22] "Death Sentence Day After Crime," The (S.C.) State, 20 February 1909, 1.

[23] See Linda K. Kerber and Jane Sherron De Hart, "Women's America: Refocusing the Past," 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), especially Eleanor M. Boatwright's chapter "The Political and Civil Status of Women in Georgia, 1783-1860," 173-193; B.C. Hall and C.T. Wood, "The South: A Two-Step Odyssey on the Backroads of the Enchanted Land" (New York: Touchstone, 1995); and Anne Firor Scott, ed. "Unheard Voices: The First Historians of Southern Women" (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993).

[24] For example, see "Bride of Chauffeur Writes to Her Mother," Atlanta Constitution, 13 August 1911, 5: "I will never regret marrying 'Jack' to the last day of my life. I love him better than anything in the world and I would rather live in a dog kennel with him than in some palace with a society fool. ..." The Page 5 "story" was coupled with a Page 1, two-column photograph of the young society woman who dared cross class lines.

While Ayer's words would be echoed in later Supreme Court cases, the South Carolina House of Representatives in 1909 denied Ayer his day. The bill passed by an overwhelming margin and was later signed into law by Gov. Ansel.

Where did Kelley and members of the Judiciary Committee get the idea for introducing this measure? Press sensationalization of attacks on females, in particular Southern white women, seems obvious. The story of Mary Dobbs is one such example, especially when viewed in light of the treatment of her assailant:

> The sentence came within 24 hours after the crime was committed, and Christian was sent to jail. The jail is being guarded tonight to prevent any attack that might be made by a mob. A mob gathered last night near Clifton Forge, but agreed not to attempt to lynch Christian while he was at that place.[28]

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[25] See "Bill to Admit Women to Bar," Atlanta Constitution, 1 July 1911, 5.

[26] See Andrew J. Bethea, 1911-1921 Code Commissioner of South Carolina's "Code of Laws of South Carolina, Volume II" (Charlottesville, Va.: The Michie Company, Law Publishers, 1912).

[27] "Some Local Matters Passed in the House," The (S.C.) State, 21 February 1909, 3.

[28] "Aurelius Christian, Murderer of Mary Dobbs, Sentenced by Circuit Judge After Confession," The (S.C.) State, 20 February 1909, 1.

According to legal scholar Marc Franklin, the statutes adopted by South Carolina and later Georgia and Florida were motivated by racial tensions and white male gallantry. Franklin says the similarity of the language used in the statutes, their time of passage and the states' close proximity to one another suggest a common genesis. Franklin's notion of a gallantry motive stems from the three states' legislative measures that imply:

> The shame and humiliation caused to women sexually assaulted are so great that the additional annoyance to which subsequent publication would expose them would be detrimental to the victims and their families.[29]

The same rationale might also have been the motivation behind Gov. Ansel's 1907 inaugural address, noted previously. It might also have served as a sort of motivation behind the actions of Rep. Kelley and the other members of the South Carolina Judiciary Committee in January and February of 1909.

Franklin's suggestion that race was a motivating factor in the passage of the South Carolina, Georgia and Florida statutes stems from what he calls the "obvious frictions of the post-reconstruction period." Another legal scholar, Jennifer Wriggins, posits that the Georgia Supreme Court, in a 1899 case, made it clear that social conditions and customs, particularly when the rape victim was a white woman and the accused a black man, were founded upon real and perceived racial differences.[30] Wriggins points out that the histories of rape and racism have been intrinsically tied together in the United States. By overemphasizing the vulnerability of white (particularly Southern) women, the legislation adopted by Florida, Georgia and South Carolina was not surprising. As Wriggins put it:

> Allegations of rape involving black offenders and white victims were treated with heightened virulence. ... The first response was lynching, which peaked near the end of the nineteenth century. The second, from the early twentieth century on, was the use of the legal system as a functional equivalent of lynchings ...[31]

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[29] Franklin, "A Constitutional Problem in Privacy Protection: Legal Inhibitions on Reporting of Fact," 16 Stanford Law Review, (1963), 107, 128.

[30] Jennifer Wriggins, "Rape, Racism, and the Law," 6 Harvard Women's Law Journal, (1983), 103, 111-112.

[31] Wriggins, 107. For comprehensive and insightful discussions of the histories of rape and racism, see Susan Brownmiller, "Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape" (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975);

Were gallantry and/or racial anxieties motivating factors of the 1909 South Carolina General Assemby? Were they factors in Florida and Georgia in 1911 as well? Feminist legal scholar Angela Harris mirrors Wriggins' notions in her review of social activist Ida B. Wells' views:

> Wells saw that both the law of rape and Southern miscegenation laws were part of a patriarchal system through which white men maintained their control over the bodies of all black people: 'White men used their ownership of the body of the white female as a terrain on which to lynch the black male.'[32]

But were these the motivating factors of the 1909 South Carolina General Assembly? Again, we can only speculate; the legislative history is sketchy. But as Franklin notes, the primary purpose of all the statutes was to encourage the victim to report the crime and to testify at trial.

If only Mary Dobbs had been so lucky.

II. Nappier v. Jefferson Standard Life Insurance, 1963

> Two young white women were raped at a motel near here (Kingstree, S.C.), officers reported early Tuesday.
>
> A statewide search was immediately launched for a young Negro convict who escaped Monday from a prison farm.
>
> Police sought David White of Georgetown, sentenced in Charleston to 25 years for rape. He escaped from Boykin Prison Farm in Kershaw County.
>
> The victims of the attack told Sheriff Buford Boyd of Williamsburg County they were threatened by a man with a butcher knife. After forcing them to submit, the man fled in the women's automobile.
>
> -- As reported in The State, Nov. 29, 1961[33]

Kristin Bumiller, "Rape as a Legal Symbol: An Essay on Sexual Violence and Racism," 42 U. Miami Law Review, (1987); Angela Davis, "Women, Race and Class" (New York: Vintage Books, 1983); and David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers, eds., "The African American Heritage of Florida" (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995). See also James E. Cutler, "Lynch Law: An Investigation Into the History of Lynching in the United States" (New York: Longman, 1905); Ralph Ginzburg, "100 Years of Lynchings" (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1988); and Arthur F. Raper, "The Tragedy of Lynching" (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933).

[32] Angela P. Harris, "Race and Essentialism in Feminist Legal Theory," in "Feminist Legal Theory: Foundations," D. Kelly Weisberg, ed., (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 350.

[33] "Escapee Is Sought After Two Women Attacked in Motel, Statewide Hunt Begins for Negro," The (S.C.) State, 29 November 1961, 1A and 11A.

Patricia Nappier and Maxine Gunter are the names behind the 1963 Fourth Circuit Court decision Nappier v. Jefferson Standard Life Insurance, the first true legal challenge to South Carolina's original statute as well as the basis of a tort action for the invasion of privacy, notably, the public disclosure of a private fact.[34] The State newspaper of Columbia, South Carolina, ran the story of the assaults on Nappier and Gunter on Page 1A, three columns wide, top of the left corner, on Wednesday, November 29, 1961. Identified only as "single women," "in their early twenties," and as "South Carolinians,"[35] Patricia Nappier and Maxine Gunter were not concerned by the coverage their story garnered from The State. What troubled them, as well as those who knew about South Carolina's statute regarding the naming of rape victims by the press, were the broadcast photos of their station wagon (which was stolen and later found), on which the words "Little Jack, Dental Division, State Board of Health" were printed.

In 1961, Patricia Nappier and Maxine Gunter were employed by the State of South Carolina as puppeteers. The two produced a show, called "Little Jack," which provided health tips to school children across South Carolina. Known as "The Little Jack Girls," Patricia Nappier and Maxine Gunter were traveling to Kingstree, South Carolina, in November 1961 as part of their jobs. According to reports in The State:

> ... the attacker entered the women's motel room through an adjacent bathroom. He apparently had first tried to remove the screen from the bedroom window. Sheriff Boyd said the women told him the man tied them with their belts and cord from the Venetian blinds. The attacker held a butcher knife between his teeth as he tied them up. ... The women, both single, freed themselves after their attacker drove off in their car.[36]

Their station wagon was found abandoned in Florence on November 30, 1961. That night, on both its 6:30 p.m. and 11 p.m. broadcasts, WBTW-TV, owned and operated by the Jefferson Standard Life Insurance Company, broadcast picures of the car with the words "Little Jack, Dental Division, State Board of Health" clearly visible to viewers. The newscaster at 6:30 p.m. and 11 p.m. also identified the station wagon as being the one used by the two women who had been raped in Kingstree.

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[34] See Nappier v. Jefferson Standard Life Ins. Co., 322 F2d 502, 505 (4th Circuit, 1963). See also Ellen B. Fishbein, "Identifying the Rape Victim: A Constitutional Clash Between the First Amendment and the Right to Privacy," 18 John Marshall Law Review (1985), 987, 988.

[35] The State, 29 November 1961, 1A and 11A.

[36] Ibid. See also "Attacker Is Still at Large: FBI Enters S.C. Manhunt," The State, 30 November 1961, 1A.

Patricia Nappier and Maxine Gunter filed suit. They sought recovery of damages "because of the humiliation, mental pain, embarrassment and the subsequent inability to continue their work."[37]

Nappier v. Jefferson Standard Life and Gunter v. Jefferson Standard Life were first heard in January 1963. According to the plaintiffs' suits, the owners of the television station violated the South Carolina statute prohibiting the publication of the name of any woman who has been raped. They said the broadcasters also violated their right to privacy. But District Court Judge Charles Cecil Wyche dismissed the plaintiffs' complaints, noting:

> The plaintiffs allege in their complaints that they were known as "The Little Jack Girls," and contend that they have been named by the alleged publications of the defendants. Section 16-81 does not prohibit the publication of "stage names" or "assumed names" of the victims of an incident of rape or assault, it only prohibits publication of *the name*, which in plain, ordinary and usual terms means, as to these plaintiffs, the names of "Maxine Gunter" and "Patricia Nappier."[38]

Judge Wyche added:

> The plaintiffs do not allege in their complaints that they have the "assumed" name of "Little Jack," which words they allege appeared on the side of the station wagon.[39]

Patricia Nappier and Maxine Gunter appealed.

On September 12, 1963, Court of Appeals Circuit Judge Albert V. Bryan held that the term "name" -- as used in the South Carolina statute making it a misdemeanor to publish rape victims' names -- is the equivalent of identity. According the Bryan, WBTW's broadcast, which sufficiently identified Nappier and Gunter other than by name, could be construed as a violation of the state statute as well as an invasion of privacy, "even though the matter was of public concern and record."[40]

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[37] 213 F. Supp. 174 (1963).
[38] 213 F. Supp. 176 (1963).
[39] Ibid.

District Judge Barksdale in his dissent noted:

> I am willing to concede that the apparent objects of the Act were the "personal protection of the woman involved" and "to encourage a free report of the crime by the victim." But I cannot agree that in a statutory inhibition of publication of the "name of the victim," "name" is equivalent to "identity." "Identity" is a much broader term than "name." If the South Carolina Legislature had intended by its statute to proscribe the publication of information from which "identity" could be determined, it could quite readily have said so, as does the Wisconsin statute.[41]

While Nappier was argued in July 1963 and decided in September 1963, The State failed to publish the outcome of Judge Bryan's decision in favor of Patricia and Maxine. No mention of the case was made in the pages of The State. Less than a decade later, the U.S. Supreme Court would step in to make their mark on the press v. privacy issues.

III. Cox Broadcasting Corp. v. Cohn, 1975

> Six youths went on trial today for the murder-rape of a teen-aged girl.
>
> The six Sandy Springs High School boys were charged with murder and rape in the death of 17-year-old Cynthia Cohn following a drinking party last August 8.
>
> The tragic death of the high school girl shocked the entire Sandy Springs community. Today the six boys had their day in court.
>
> -- WSB-TV, April 10, 1972[42]

Like South Carolina, Georgia law prohibited the publishing or broadcasting of a rape victim's identity.[43] On April 10, 1972, Thomas Wassell, a staff news reporter for

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[40] 322 F.2d 502 (1963).

[41] 322 F.2d 505 (1963). See also Section 348.412, Wisconsin Statutes, 1925, as well as Hubbard v. Journal Publishing Company, 368 P.2d 147 (1962).

[42] WSB-TV, Atlanta, Georgia, report as quoted in Cox Broadcasting Corp. and Thomas Wassell v. Martin Cohn, 231 Ga. 60, 200 S.E.2d 6 (1973), from the transcript of the original televised report. The sole reference to Cynthia Cohn was made in this manner, in the opening of the filmed news report. The report goes on to name the six boys and the fact that the murder charges were dropped against all of the defendants. It also is noted in the news story that one of the defendants later withdrew his guilty plea. The other five boys pleaded guilty to charges of rape. Their sentences are reported in the rest of the story.

[43] The Georgia code, adopted in 1911 and updated in 1968 reads:

Atlanta's WSB-TV, licensed and operated by the Cox Broadcasting Corporation, attended a trial of the six youths indicted in the murder and rape of Cynthia Cohn. The trial was held in open court at the Fulton County Courthouse. Following the proceedings, Wassell prepared the news story above; it was filmed on the steps of the county courthouse. This news report was based on information obtained at the trial and from the indictments on record with the clerk of the Superior Court of Fulton County.[44] In sum, the victim, Cynthia Cohn, was identified in these public records, and WSB-TV (Cox Broadcasting) used her name in its coverage of the trial.

Less than a month later, on May 8, 1972, Martin Cohn, the victim's father, sued the television station, saying the broadcasts identifying his daughter invaded his right of privacy.[45] Cohn's action for monetary damages against Cox Broadcasting and Thomas Wassell was based on the Georgia law prohibiting such a broadcast. While Cox Broadcasting and reporter Wassell did not dismiss the content of the broadcast, including

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> It shall be unlawful for any news media or any other person to print and publish, broadcast, televise, or disseminate through any other medium of public dissemination or cause to be printed and published, broadcast, televised or disseminated in any newspaper, magazine, periodical or other publication published in this State or through any radio or television broadcast originating in the State the name or identity of any female who may have been raped or upon whom an assault with intent to commit rape may have been made. Any person or corporation violating the provisions of this section shall, upon conviction, be punished as for a misdemeanor. 1968 Ga. Laws 1335-1336 (Ga. Code Ann. 26-9901).

[44] Cox Broadcasting Corp. v. Cohn, 420 U.S. 469, 472-474 (1975). Wassell describes the way in which he obtained the information reported in the broadcast:

> The information ... was obtained from several sources. First, by personally attending and taking notes of the said trial and the subsequent transfer of four of the six defendants to the Fulton County Jail, I obtained personal knowledge of the events that transpired during the trial of this action and the said transfer of the defendants. Such personal observations and notes were the primary and almost exclusive source of the information upon which the said news report was based. Secondly, during the recess of the said trial, I approached the clerk of the court ... and requested to see a copy of the indictments. In open court, I was handed the indictments, both the murder and the rape indictments, and was allowed to examine fully this document. As is shown by the said indictments ... the name of the said Cynthia Cohn appears in clear type. Moreover, no attempt was made by the clerk or anyone else to withhold the name and identity from me or from anyone else and the said indictments apparently were available for public inspection upon request.

It should be noted, too, that Wassell was no fledgling reporter. Although he had not been involved with the Cohn case before the morning of April 10, 1972, he had been in the employ of WSB-TV as a news reporter for the past nine years. This was not his first trial.

[45] Ibid. at 474.

the naming of Cynthia Cohn, they did claim that such newsgathering was privileged under both state law and the First and Fourteenth Amendments.[46]

The Georgia Supreme Court upheld the law against publishing or broadcasting a rape victim's identity. The court said that the State, through its legislative body, had the constitutional authority to protect the anonymity of victims of rape or attempted rape by prohibiting their identification in the media. The court, in interpreting the Georgia statute, said:

> ... there simply is no public interest or general concern about the identity of the victim of such a crime as will make the right to disclose the identity of the victim rise to the level of First Amendment protection.[47]

The court went on to say that the First and Fourteenth Amendments are not absolute. Simply put, the state court said it is necessary to balance the protection of an individual's privacy with the interests of public disclosure of that individual's identity.[48]

This balancing question is at the core of the victim identification debate. And it is especially so in light of the U.S. Supreme Court's reversal of the Georgia court's decision nearly two years later.[49]

Justice White put it succinctly when he wrote in the majority opinion in Cox: "The interests in privacy fade when the information involved already appears on the public record."[50] As the Court more fully explained:

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[46] First Amendment: Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the freee exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.
Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, in part: No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

[47] Cox Broadcasting Corp., et al v. Cohn, 231 Ga. 60, 200 S.E. 2d 127 (1973).

[48] It is here where the Georgia Supreme Court cites State v. Evjue, 253 Wis. 146, 33 N.W.2d 305 (1948):
... there is a minimum of social value in the publication of the identity of a female in connection with such an outrage. ... There can be no doubt that the slight restriction of the freedom of the press ... is fully justified.

[49] Cox Broadcasting Corp. v. Cohn, 420 U.S. 469, 95 S.Ct. 1029 (1975).

[50] 420 U.S. 469, 479 (1975).

> We are reluctant to embark on a course that would make public records generally available to the media but forbid their publication if offensive to the sensibilities of the supposed reasonable man. Such a rule would make it very difficult for the media to inform citizens about the public business and yet stay within the law. The rule would invite timidity and self-censorship and very likely lead to the suppression of many items that would otherwise be published and that should be made available to the public.[51]

By reversing the Georgia court's decision, the Supreme Court essentially placed the protection of freedom of the press provided by the First and Fourteenth Amendments above the protection of an individual's right of privacy[52] (in this case, Martin Cohn).[53]

The Court, however, also recognized that a face-off between privacy and the constitutional freedoms of speech and of the press was inevitable. In its evaluation, the Court looked to several cases for direction, most notably New York Times Co. v. Sullivan, Time, Inc. v. Hill, and Miami Herald Publishing Co. v. Tornillo.[54] In light of these cases, all dealing with privacy,[55] the Court again noted that the regulation of the press and its freedom is a much greater constitutional concern than the infringement of one's privacy.

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[51] Ibid. at 496.

[52] The Court makes it clear, however, that this ruling itself is not absolute. The Court uses the example of official court recordings of juvenile court proceedings. For a comprehensive examination of this and related issues see Susan Cohn, "Protecting Child Rape Victims From the Public and Press After *Globe Newspaper* and Cox Broadcasting," 51 George Washington Law Rev., (1983), 285. See also Lucy Nobel Inman, "Tort Law: Hall v. Post: North Carolina Rejects Claim of Invasion of Privacy by Truthful Publication of Embarrassing Facts, 67 N.C. Law Rev., (1989), 1474; Seth F. Kreimer, "Sunlight, Secrets, and Scarlet Letters: The Tension Between Privacy and Disclosure in Constitutional Law, 140 U. Penn. Law Rev., (1991), 1; and Chrisopher Wells, "Confidentiality Statutes and the First Amendment a Landmark Opinion?," 31 Federal Comm. Law Journal, (Winter 1978), 109.

[53] Richard Posner, in "The Right of Privacy," 12 Georgia Law Rev., (1978), 393, provides a rather provocative analysis of the Cox decision. He posits that because the victim, Cynthia Cohn, is dead the issue of privacy rights is, in many ways, mute. However, he draws on tort law to suggest that the family's right to privacy was indeed violated. Posner's notions of information as a commercial product, though troubling, are valid. News, according to Posner, is packaged and sold. The question remains, however, as to what the cost is to the individual.

[54] New York Times Co. v. Sullivan, 376 U.S. 254 (1964); Time, Inc. v. Hill, 385 U.S. 374 (1967); and Miami Herald Publishing Co. v. Tornillo, 418 U.S. 241 (1974).

[55] New York Times v. Sullivan and Time, Inc. v. Hill both uphold First Amendment protection for those newscasters publishing truthful accounts of matters of public interest. New York Times v. Sullivan, a libel case, established a precedent that there are constitutional limits to what the states can do. In Miami Herald v. Tornillo, the Supreme Court again supported the press' First Amendment freedoms. In this case, the Court overturned a Florida state law creating a limited right of access to the press. In effect, the Court invalidated the state's right-of-rely law.

Legal scholar Ellen Fishbein disagrees with the Court's ruling in Cox[56] and argues for a greater balance between press freedom and victims' right to privacy. According to Fishbein, Cox fails to question whether truthful publications are always newsworthy, and, therefore, privileged under the First Amendment. She goes on to write that courts generally agree that there is no social value in revealing a rape victim's name. In fact, it may not even be essential to the telling of the story. If this rationale holds, and the victim's name is not considered newsworthy then, Fishbein argues, the need to protect a victim from psychological harm is of the most importance. In her words:

> The most literal interpretation of Cox rests in its call to the states to keep the rape victim's name off the public records. If the legislature and judiciary hasten to meet this call, then Cox need not be an inadequate standard of protection of privacy rights. States must enact statutes that classify as confidential those portions of police records that contain the rape victim's name and address. Upon the plaintiff's request, courts should have a mandatory rule of procedure in which a pseudonym could be used in place of the rape victim's actual name.[57]

While Cynthia Cohn was identified in the press, pseudonyms and initials have been employed since the Cox decision. When the Supreme Court again faced the issue of whether or not the press should be prohibited from, punished for, or held civilly liable for identifying rape victims in 1989, the rape victim was not known by her first name. Rather, she was identified as B.J.F.[58]

IV. Using the 'F' Word: Feminists and the Identification Debate

Legal scholars, while rarely noting cases like Nappier v. Jefferson Standard Life Insurance, but frequently discussing such precedent-setting cases as Cox Broadcasting Corp. v. Cohn and Florida Star v. B.J.F. and such popularized cases as The Globe's and

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[56] Fishbein, "Identifying the Rape Victim: A Constitutional Clash Between the First Amendment and the Right to Privacy," 18 John Marshall Law Rev., (1985), 987.

[57] Fishbein, at 1013.

[58] See Florida Star v. B.J.F., 492 U.S. 524, 109 S.Ct. 2603 (1989), a civil invasion of privacy case. The Court ruled that the weekly newspaper that accidently named a rape victim could not be penalized for publishing accurate information legally obtained from a police report.

The New York Times' coverage of the Bowman/Kennedy Smith and Central Park jogger trials, almost always reiterate that, legally, journalists can publish the names of rape victims when their names become a part of public record.[59] Invasion of privacy suits brought against the press for identifying rape victims have been largely unsuccessful. This has been a common theme from 1948 to the present, despite the protectionary intentions of the nation's first rape victim identification statutes in South Carolina, Florida and Georgia at the turn of the century.

So what can the retelling of the Mary Dobbs, Patricia Nappier, Maxine Gunter and Cynthia Cohn stories and cases tell us, as journalists and those studying mass communication? Although women are no longer called "girls" or "attractive brunettes,"[60] and many newspapers have rape victim identification policies in place, the problems of naming victims of sexual assault remain.

For example, consider the fact that before the April 10, 1972 ill-fated WSB-TV broadcast of Cynthia Cohn's name, the Atlanta Constitution had published her name in its August 19, 1971 editions. In a five-paragraph story, headlined "Tests Seek Death Cause of Girl, 17," and buried at the bottom of Page 3D's Crime Reports and Obitiuary pages:

> Tests were being conducted Wednesday to determine the cause of death of a 17-year-old girl who collapsed and died after attending a party in north Fulton County, police said.
>
> Cynthia Leslie Cohn, of 265 River North Drive, Sandy Springs, was pronounced dead on arrival at Northside Hospital, according to Patrolman J.D. Hartley.
>
> Hartley and Detective J.R. Walker said four youths told them they found Miss Cohn lying on the ground beside her car near a Lake Island Drive home where all of them had attended a

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[59] See, for example, Terence Clark's "Epilogue: When Privacy Rights Encounter First Amendment Freedoms," 41 Case Western Res. Law Rev. 921 (1991); Jody Freeman's "The Disclipinary Function of Rape's Representation: Lessons From the Kennedy Smith and Tyson Trials," 3 Law and Social Inquiry 517 (Summer 1993); and Helen Benedict's "Blindfolded: Rape and the Press's Fear of Feminism," chapter 22 of Martha Fineman and Martha McCluskey, eds., "Feminism, Media and the Law" (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 267-272.

[60] Keeler McCartney and Sam Hopkins, "6 Youths Indicted in Death," Atlanta Constitution, 4 March 1971, 1A and 15A. As quoted in story: "The death of the attractive brunette last Aug. 18 at first was thought to have resulted from natural causes, police said. But the case was reopened a month ago at the insistence of Dr. Robert Stivers, Fulton County medical examiner. Det. H.W. McConnell said the medical examination indicated the girl died of asphyxiation induced by aspiration, and that she had been sexually molested."

> party.
>
> The four were quoted that they placed the girl in her car, drove her home and attempted to revive her with artificial respiration. ...[61]

A story by Larry Shealy and Leonard Ray Teel on Page 1A on March 5, 1971, set a decidedly different tone in explaining the cause of Cohn's death:

> ... The girl had gone to a party ... (Fulton Assistant Dist. Atty. John) Nuckolls said.
>
> According to the boys, ... the girl had decided to get drunk because of a family quarrel, and had asked one of the six boys to take her home. She had given the keys of her Mustang to one of the boys.
>
> "Later," he said, "in the presence of four of the six, she said, 'I'm getting real drunk.' Instead of taking her home, they said, 'Come on, drink it all,' and handed her a bottle of vodka -- a half-gallon bottle -- and she continued to drink," Nuckolls said.
>
> ... Outside, Nuckolls said, the six boys discussed what to do. They took her to the wooded, unoccupied lot next door.
>
> "They all were there when she was undressed," Nuckolls said. "Only three of them actually committed the rape, but all six have been charged because they were present ..."
>
> ... After the ambulance call, the police arrived at 2:12 a.m. They found the girl lying face down on the street, beside the passenger side of her car, which was in the middle of the road.
>
> The medical examiner said the girl died because fluids were forced from her stomach down her windpipe, and she strangled.
>
> ... The boys had told Hartley that they had found her "lying in the grass beside her car, passed out."
>
> The next morning, Aug. 19, Dr. Stivers examined the body and knew immediately that she had not died from drugs. "We knew we had a violent death at that point," Dr. Stivers said.[62]

Now consider the wording in the Cox decision. It suggests that the publication of names or sensitive materials should be forbidden "if offensive to the sensibilities of the supposed reasonable man." Reasonable man? The reality, as Diana E.H. Russell and FBI statistics indicate, is that women make up the majority of rape/sexual assault victims, at least 70 percent, according to Russell.[63] The percentage is made up of women like Cynthia Cohn. Women like Patricia Nappier. Like Patricia Bowman, Nancy Ziegenmeyer, the Central Park jogger and Desiree Washington.[64] Where, then, is the consideration of the "sensibilities" of the reasonable woman? Feminist perspectives, such as those offered by Estrich, Ruth Colker, Robin West, and Catherine MacKinnon, among others, suggest that "reasonable women" have been left out of the formula. It is in this direction that the debate should turn.

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[61] "Tests Seek Death Cause of Girl, 17," Atlanta Constitution, 19 August 1971, 3D.

[62] Larry Shealy and Leonard Ray Teek, "6 Suspects in Rape-Death Due to Surrender Monday" and "Youths Tell," 5 March 1971, 1A and 18A.

Law, as Estrich, Colker and West have argued, has often excluded women's experiences, let alone women's "sensibilities."[65] The male point of view (consider South Carolina Gov. Ansel's charge for "protecting our Southern women") historically has been the legal standard.

> Women are seen as 'other' and rape is seen as a 'women's issue.' ... men write the rape laws, enforce the rape laws, interpret the rape laws, judge the accused and the victim-survivors, and rape (the majority of rapists are male).[66]

All of the legislators who pushed for the original South Carolina statute regarding the publication of a rape victim's identity were male. B.F. Kelley, the Lee County, South

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[63] See Chapter One of Russell's "Sexual Exploitation: Rape, Child Abuse, and Workplace Harassment" (Beverly Hills, London: Sage, 1984), as well as Rus Ervin Funk, "Stopping Rape: A Challenge for Men" (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1993).

[64] Consider the example of Desiree Washington, the young woman raped by heavyweight boxing champion Mike Tyson. In a Sunday London Times news article by Jonathan Rendall, (19 March 1995), sect. 1, 19, a photograph of Washington is published with the caption: "Washington: forgotten." The article's second paragraph notes: "Tyson may be a convicted rapist, but that will be forgotten as 5,000 or so journalists and fans jostle one another to get the first glimpse of the man who, a decade ago, was the most vicious fighting machine the world had ever seen." Tyson was released from an Illinois prison March 25, 1995. As for further comment on Washington, see paragraph 15: "Washington's family is tortured by the thought Tyson will walk out of jail and into an instant fortune. She is still haunted by the attack and trial. She has cut off her hair and uses her middle name so people will not recognize her."

[65] See Estrich, "Real Rape" (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987); Colker, "Pornography and Privacy: Towards the Development of a Group-Based Theory for Sex-Based Instrusions of Privacy," 1 Journal of Law and Equality (1983); West, "Jurisprudence and Gender," 55 University of Chicago Law Rev. (1988) and "The Difference in Women's Hedonic Lives: A Phenomenological Critique of Feminist Legal Theory," 3 Wisconsin Women's Law Journal, (1987). West's "Jurisprudence and Gender" article also is found in the D. Kelly Weisberg text "Feminist Legal Theory: Foundations" (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 75-98.

[66] See Rus Ervin Funk, "Stopping Rape: A Challenge for Men" (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1993), 2.

Carolina attorney, who pushed for the measure's initial acceptance, was male. The judges deciding Nappier were male. In the end, the court in effect said, "They shouldn't have identified you." Patricia Nappier and Maxine Gunter, however, were not consulted.

Feminist legal scholars suggest that if law were based on women's experience, then law would be differently structured. Outlawing the First Amendment is not the choice here, nor was it in Nappier, Cox or B.J.F. Striking a balance between press freedoms and privacy concerns, however, is a choice -- then and now.[67] As for Mary Dobbs and Cynthia Cohn, they had little choice and no voice in whether others would know their names or the facts surrounding the causes of their brutal rapes and murders. Such is the history of these early rape victim identification debates.

Sue Bessmer in her text "The Laws of Rape" suggests that it is useful to know where we have been in trying to understand where we are going. This paper set out to do just that. By focusing a light on the early adoptions of rape victim identification measures in South Carolina, Florida and Georgia as well as on two state tests (South Carolina's Nappier and Georgia's Cox), it is hoped that we can better see the shadows from which press coverage of more recent cases can emerge.

There are few prescriptions or proscriptions in this paper. The underpinnings and myths surrounding today's rape and sexual assault crimes coverage have their roots in the stories of Mary, Patricia, Maxine and Cynthia. While some of the coverage has changed, we're still grappling over whether it's a good idea to name names.

We should have learned more in 90 years. Or, as Estrich puts it:

> If we are to change the way the law addresses these cases, that history must be confronted and understood. By doing so, ideally what will emerge is not only an understanding of the law as a part of the problem, but a direction for the law to serve as part of the solution.[68]

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[67] For a comprehensive overview of Florida Star v. B.J.F. and privacy/public discloure concerns, see Carolyn Dyer's "Listening to Women's Stories: Or Media Law as if Women Mattered" in Pamela J. Creedon, ed., "Women in Mass Communication," 2nd ed. (Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage, 1993), 330-331.
[68] Estrich, "Real Rape," 7.

WOMEN CORRESPONDENT VISIBILITY 1983-1997

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ABSTRACT

WOMEN CORRESPONDENT VISIBILITY 1983-1997

This study, covering 15 years from 1983-1997, is the first longitudinal study to examine the visibility of women correspondents on the network television evening news. After stagnating during the eighties, women's visibility increased sharply during the early nineties, providing a firm foundation for incremental improvement. By 1997, more than half of women correspondents were among the 100 most visible, up from less than 25 percent fifteen years earlier, but their inclusion among the top ten remained elusive.

Women Correspondent Visibility 1983-1997

The fate of women in professional life, and especially in management, has been a concern for a number of years. Even though women have been in the work world for decades, they have not, until recently, assumed the most powerful, visible positions. In 1991 Congress created the Glass Ceiling Commission to monitor the upward mobility of women and minorities. In its 1995 report, the commission found that 95 percent of senior managers in Fortune 1500 companies were men and less than 10 percent of the country's largest employers had women on the Board of Directors (Glass Ceiling Commission, 1998).

But the Glass Ceiling Commission was not only concerned with women in upper management positions; it was also concerned with the process that it takes for women to reach those levels. Media news organizations have been reluctant to promote women to upper management positions and have had few women who are even within striking distance of becoming supervisors. In the 1970s Marlene Sanders, one of the first female network news correspondents, was named ABC's vice president and director of documentaries, the first female network news vice president in the industry (Sanders, 1998). Yet few women have reached that level. Furthermore, until recently upward mobility for females in the correspondent corps has been limited, especially on the flagship evening news program.

Whether women get on the news or not "depends a lot on the gatekeepers, most of whom are still men" ("Women on the Frontlines," 1997, p. 4-5).

Because the Federal Communications Commission adopted rules more than thirty years ago to encourage broadcasters to hire more women, it is important to examine the upward mobility of women correspondents on the network news over time. As Lasswell (1972) said about the importance of public policy research, "Appraisal first looks backward as a step toward future action" (p. 305).

During the fifties and sixties, pioneers like Pauline Frederick, Nancy Dickerson, Lisa Howard, Marlene Sanders, Marya McLaughlin, Liz Trotta, and Barbara Walters established themselves in network news, but it was not until the seventies that women made significant entry into the profession (Hosley & Yamada, 1987). Flander (1985) describes three distinct waves of women entering television news: (1) the small group of women listed above who preceded the 1968 FCC ruling; (2) correspondents like Connie Chung, Lesley Stahl, Carole Simpson, Catherine Mackin, Jane Pauley, Sylvia Chase, and Jessica Savitch who were hired during the late sixties and early seventies just as emphasis was being placed on recruitment of women; and (3) a third wave of correspondents hired by the networks during the late seventies and early eighties who had come to expect expanded opportunities in television news and whose role models were women in the first wave of correspondents. This group included correspondents like Diane

Sawyer, Lynn Sherr, Martha Teichner, Andrea Mitchell, Judy Woodruff, Ann Compton, and Ann Garrels.

While women were increasingly being hired as correspondents, their overall visibility on the evening news--the flagship broadcast--appeared to be low. Marlene Sanders, one of the first women network correspondents and the first woman network news vice president, believed that women correspondents found themselves increasingly relegated to the second string:

> Air time is the broadcast equivalent of column space at a newspaper. If you are on the evening news regularly, the anchorman or executive producer is in your corner and you've made page one. If you are relegated to the early morning or weekends, fringe broadcasts or radio, then you are on the back pages. The favored correspondents, part of the so-called "A-team," get the major beats, while the workhorse correspondents, part of the "B-team," get the rest (Sanders & Rock, 1988).

More and more women correspondents became concerned that their visibility was far lower than it should be and that their paths to advancement were blocked. In 1985, a group of women correspondents at ABC used a luncheon honoring Barbara Walters to protest to News President Roone Arledge their lack of airtime on the evening news. Subsequently, The National Organization for Women branded ABC as the "most sexist" of the three major networks (Alter & Weathers, 1985).

During the eighties, research began to support the women correspondents' claims of second-class status. Foote ("Too many", 1985) found that during 1983 and 84 the majority of women correspondents were clustered in a "women's ghetto" where they comprised 30% of the bottom 30 correspondents but only 10% of the top thirty. In 1986, The National Organization for Women in a two month study of network news broadcasts found that women reported only 10.5 percent of the stories on the three network evening news shows (Sanders & Rock, 1988).

Ziegler and White (1990), in a three week sample of network evening newscasts, found that only 12% of the stories were reported by female correspondents. Sanders and Rock's (1985) survey of network news content in November, 1986, showed that women reported only 13% of news stories. A study by DWJ Associates in 1987 (Zacks, 1988) found that no women were among the top ten in terms of total airtime. Foote's (1992) seven year content analysis of network news found almost no upward mobility for female evening news correspondents from 1983-89 in terms of increased visibility.

On the local level, the picture was much brighter. By 1995, 96 percent of U.S. TV news staffs included women. Women held 34 percent of local news jobs, 64 percent of producer positions, and 17 percent of news directorships. The high number of producer positions was seen as an entree to management that would influence staffing patterns well into the next century.

This study, concentrating solely on the visibility of women on the evening news broadcasts of ABC, CBS, and NBC, is a follow-up to two earlier studies (1983-89, 1983-92) and includes five additional years of data. This 15-year longitudinal study provides a comprehensive portrait of women correspondent's visibility on the evening news. The research questions are as follows:

1. What differences exist in the exposure patterns of men and women correspondents on the network evening news over time?

2. Are there differences between the networks in the visibility of women correspondents?

3. How trends in correspondent visibility emerged over a 15-year period?

Method

The Vanderbilt Television News Index and Abstracts were used to compile the visibility of correspondents on the evening news from January 1983 to December 1997. The unit of analysis was the network news correspondent report. From 1983-1994, names of correspondents from ABC, CBS, and NBC were obtained from the index of correspondents found at the beginning of each monthly index. Beginning in 1995 when the printed index was discontinued, the names of correspondents were provided by the networks. Coders used the Vanderbilt Index, and subsequently its online edition, to calculate the monthly visibility of each individual. Full time anchors, correspondents when serving as substitute anchors, and network commentators were not included in the study.

Correspondent visibility totals were grouped by month, quarter and year. The sex of the correspondent, assignment, and the network for which he/she worked were also recorded. When a correspondent changed networks or assignment over the course of the study, the most recent assignment and place of employment were recorded.

Because none of the coding involved subjective decisions, only one coder worked on a particular phase of the study. At several intervals over the fifteen year study, a separate coder randomly double-checked the original coders' accuracy. The figures for the top one hundred correspondents were double-checked for accuracy for all fifteen years. In order to eliminate affiliate station reporters, temporary reporters, correspondents assigned to the evening news, consultants, or others who were not considered full time network correspondents, a threshold of five reports per year was set for inclusion in the study.

Setting the visibility threshold at five reports per year risked excluding full time correspondents with very low visibility. Yet, it would be difficult to imagine the networks retaining full time personnel in these difficult budgeting times who contribute so little to the news product. The five report cut off was a reasonable way to exclude those who appeared occasionally on the evening news but were not full time correspondents assigned primarily to that program.

Results

Over the fifteen years of the study, the number of women reporting on network television news increased markedly, but the rise was not continuous. The figures for the first nine years were remarkably consistent, providing a static environment for women correspondents (1983-16.7%; 1984-16.7%; 1985-16.7%; 1986-16%; 1987-16.3%; 1988-15.3%; 1989-17.1%; 1990-17.7; 1991-17.1). It was not until 1992 that the percentage of women increased significantly to 23 percent and eventually to 29 percent in 1997. Figure 1 shows the stagnation during the eighties followed by a rapid rise during the nineties.

The rise in the percentage of women correspondents during the nineties is somewhat misleading because the number of correspondents reporting for the networks was shrinking, not expanding. Thus, the raw number of women was increasing only slightly while the number of male correspondents was falling precipitously. From 1983 to 1997, the number of male correspondents decreased from 188 to 118 while the number of women rose from 37 to 49.

As more women entered the evening news workplace, the question arose about the level of their visibility compared to men. With a 22-minute news hole, only a handful of correspondents get on the air each evening. Figure 2 shows that the number of women among the 100 most visible correspondents has more than doubled in fifteen years. In fact, it almost doubled in one year from 1990 to 1991. From 1993 on, women never had fewer than 20 correspondents among the top 100.

Table 1 shows the specific rank of female correspondents in the visibility hierarchy. For the first six years of the study, no woman penetrated the "top ten" barrier. In the watershed year of 1991, the number of women in the lowest category fell below 50 percent for the first time, allowing a record number of women to break out of their low visibility "ghetto." Correspondingly, three women secured a top ten ranking. All three, Andrea Mitchell (3), Susan Spencer (5), and Rita Braver (9) had been gradually moving up the ranks during the previous five years, poised for an assault on the top positions. In 1992, Lisa Myers and Edie Magnus joined Andrea Mitchell and Susan Spencer to occupy 4 slots among the top ten, the best showing for women during the study. New ground was broken in 1993 and 1994 when Andrea Mitchell became the first women to be the most visible network correspondent.

While women would continue to advance their position overall during the nineties, the number of women in the top ten would actually decline after hitting the 1992 peak. In 1997, with two women having left the White House beat, no woman was listed in the top ten for the first time in ten years. In fifteen years, of the 43 correspondents who made the top ten roster, 6 (14%) were women. (Rita Braver, CBS; Edie Magnus, CBS; Andrea Mitchell, NBC; Lisa Myers, NBC, Lesley Stahl, CBS; and Susan Spencer, CBS). Braver and Mitchell made the list six times, Myers four, and Spencer three. Interestingly, ABC has never had a female correspondent among the top ten. Assignment location influenced inclusion in the top ten. Over fifteen years, 80 percent of correspondents at the elite level were assigned to Washington. Five of the six women who made the top ten had Washington assignments, four of them at the White House. When no woman was listed in the top ten, no female was assigned to the White House fulltime.

As women gained a foothold of visibility in the nineties, their frequency of reports started to catch up to their percentage in the workforce for the first time. Tables 2 and 3 break out by network the number of women and the number of reports filed by women. In 1993 and 1994, women reported a quarter of all stories on network news for the first time. On CBS in 1993, the figure approached one-third of all reports. While the percentages have receded recently, the a threshold of reporting at least one-fifth of all stories on the evening news seems to have been set.

Over the fifteen years of the study, CBS offered the best opportunities for women and put them on the air more frequently than the other networks. In 1992, for example, 6 of the top 8 women correspondents came from CBS even though CBS had two fewer women than ABC or NBC. By 1995, however, the dynamic had changed and CBS' leadership was challenged. Table 3 shows how the percentage of stories filed by CBS women began to fall in 1995, declining in one year from 29 percent to 21 percent. Conversely, ABC came on strong during the nineties, strengthening its correspondent corps to 25 women in 1997 and its percentage of reports by women to 31 percent. Except for a brief surge in 1994 and 1995, NBC consistently trailed its competition.

In 1997, a record 49 women correspondents reported for network news, but their opportunities for reporting were shrinking. From 1994 to 1997, the average number of reports per correspondent fell nearly 20 percent from 44 to 37 reports. Men, who filled 83 percent of the correspondent slots when the study began, held only 71 percent of those jobs in 1997.

Discussion

The first version of this study, covering the years 1983-89, painted a grim picture of women's visibility on the network evening news. According to the data, women correspondents "were locked into a static underclass, going neither up nor down. Some correspondents gained high visibility each year, but usually these were substitutions not expansions." These results were surprising because one would have presumed at least some upward mobility in one of the most visible professions in an industry that was presumed to have a good record of inclusion.

Women were making gains as anchors of high profile prime time magazine programs, but these were token gains compared to the correspondent corps where most of the network women worked. Except for an assignment on a primetime news program, correspondents gained status within the organization by their ability to gain access to the flagship evening newscast. Most women correspondents did not have the quality, permanent assignments that guaranteed regular visibility. Many were left dangling in low visibility general assignment positions while men got the favored Washington beats where exposure was guaranteed. If a "B" team of less favored correspondents who received marginal assignments and little airtime existed in network news, women were clearly overrepresented. The majority of women correspondents got on the air less than twice a month.

The second version of the study, covering 1990-1992, showed significant change in the portrait of women's visibility on network news. A trend of upward mobility began in 1991 that continued in 1992. Not only were there more women reporting, but the majority of women by 1992 had moved into the ranks of the top 100 correspondents. At CBS, women were reporting one out of every four stories on the evening news, a percentage never approached in the early years of the study.

To a significant degree, the women were helped by the misfortune of the male correspondents whose ranks were devastated by the upheaval of the networks beginning in 1985. In seven years, nearly 30% of the men were gone, creating greater opportunities for women. Because fewer correspondents were left to fill the requisite twenty-two minutes of airtime, the networks no longer had the luxury of having reporters who never got on the air. Therefore, many women moved up the exposure ladder.

Another factor helping women's visibility was the growing sensitization of the networks to the plight of women. After several reports documented the lack of visibility of women correspondents on the network evening news in the late 1980s, management seemed to be making a conscious effort to provide women with higher quality assignments. During this period, there were ongoing discussions between management and women correspondents concerning their visibility.

The third installment of the study 1993-1997 showed mixed results for women. On the positive side, there were steady increases on most fronts, especially the number of women in the correspondent corps. If the current trend continues, more than one-third of all correspondents will be women by 2000. Getting to the top of the visibility mountain, however, was destined to be more elusive. There could be four women in the top ten one year and none five years later. Their fate depended on the vicissitudes of the assignment process. Another factor affecting all correspondents was the dominance of the big story. Correspondents covering the Gulf War, the O.J. Simpson trial, the Oklahoma City bombing and other ongoing stories saw their visibility skyrocket while other correspondents languished with little air time. A change in format allowing anchors to replace correspondents on some stories and having longer trend stories also reduced opportunities for correspondent visibility on the evening news for men and women.

Major questions regarding women in network news have been their ability to stay on for the long term and the treatment aging women correspondents would receive. This study has clearly shown a greater turnover among women greater than men correspondents but the numbers are evening out. Veteran women correspondents have worried about aging in an insecure environment where a woman's appearance might mean the difference between getting an assignment or even keeping their job. Certainly first wave women like Marlene Sanders and Marya McLaughlin found the networks no longer interested in their services. In this study, middle-age women correspondents seem be holding their own and some are doing remarkably well. The five female correspondents who have made it to the elite levels several times all appear to be over forty and some over fifty. None of their careers appear to be fading. Each has developed a high level of expertise that has made them extremely valuable to their news organizations. Conventional wisdom dictated that their careers would have ended long ago.

A significant factor in women gaining higher visibility on the evening news during the nineties will be the quality of assignments they can draw. Women remain badly underrepresented at the prestige beats, but the assignment of two women simultaneously to the White House recently was a major step forward. General assignment reporters may have surges in exposure from covering elections, natural disasters, riots, etc., but this exposure often does not have longterm impact on their careers. If upward mobility is to continue for women, assignments to the Pentagon, State Department, Capitol, etc. must follow.

Executives at the networks and local stations should have no shortage of women to choose from in future years. With more women than men graduating from mass communications programs, the prospect of a "pink ghetto" effect with lower pay scales and lower professional status may pose a larger problem in the long run to women journalists than the visibility inequalities described in this paper. Educators fear that depressed pay and stunted upward mobility may discourage outstanding students, female and male, from pursuing careers in broadcast journalism.

The contrast in results between an earlier version of this study and the current one demonstrates the importance of having an ongoing census of correspondents' visibility to provide a definitive portrait of dynamic trends in the workplace; it can be misleading to rely on a single snapshot. Further longitudinal research should document women's exposure on other network news programs and on other networks, such as CNN, National Public Radio, and local television news. Employment trends for those behind the camera in producer, bureau chief, and executive positions should especially be examined. There is also a need to evaluate the quality of exposure as well as the quantity to determine how well each does and if women are given assignments and stories comparable to men.

The evening news programs remain the flagship broadcasts of the networks and form a highly competitive environment in which to measure glass ceiling effects. Yet, a limitation of this study is its exclusive focus on the evening news. Since the study began in 1983, television news has changed significantly. The U.S. market now has two 24-hour cable networks and a fourth commercial network with a news service. Major market local news has become a powerful force as well. ABC, CBS, and NBC have greatly expanded their prime time magazine programming, overshadowing the evening news in many cases. Many new opportunities exist for women at all levels of the industry. Research is needed to examine a entire panorama of broadcast journalism, discovering emerging trends well beyond this study.

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Figure 1

Percentage of Women Network Correspondents 1983-1997

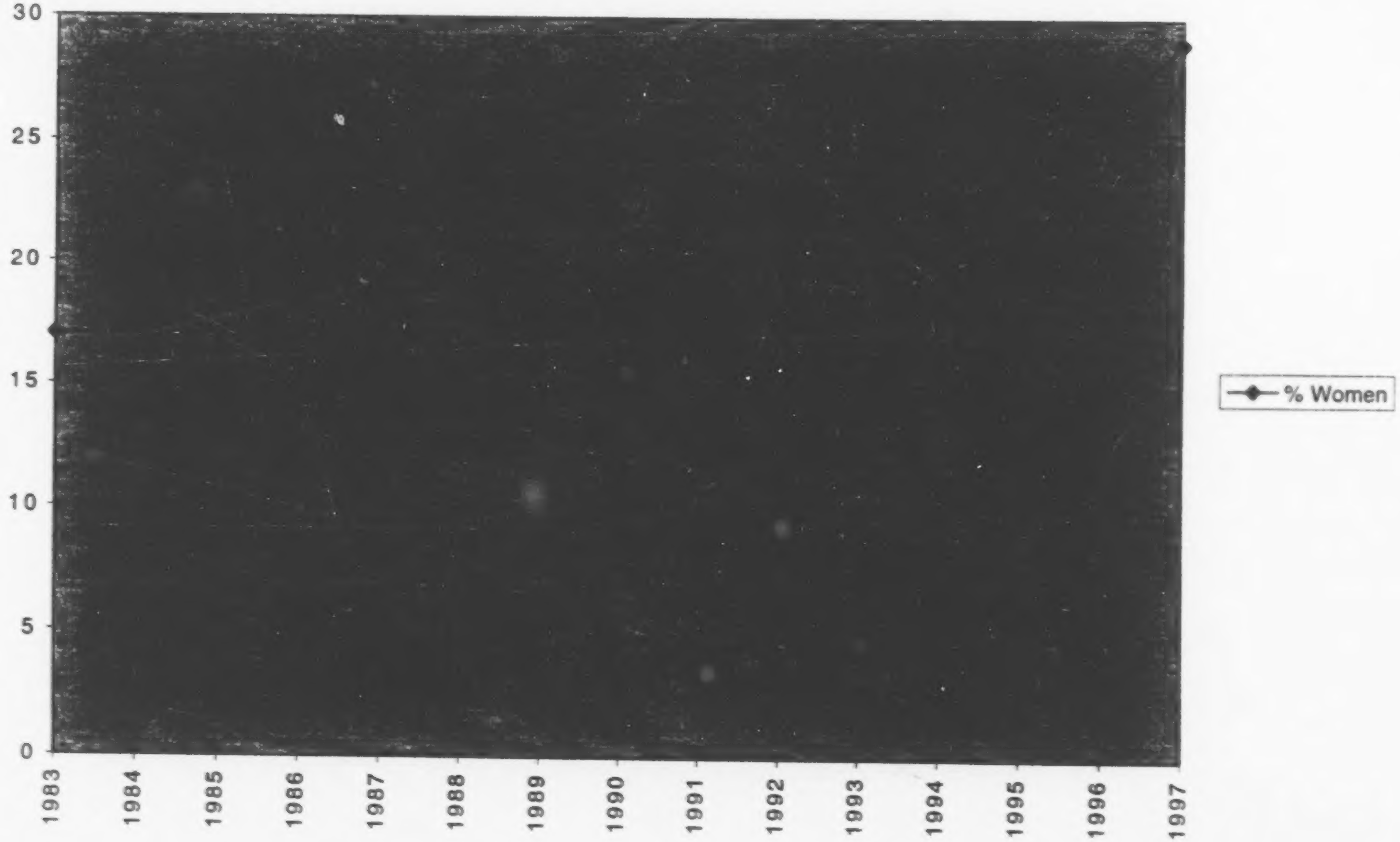

Figure 2

Number of Women listed among 100 Most Visible Correspondents 1983-1997

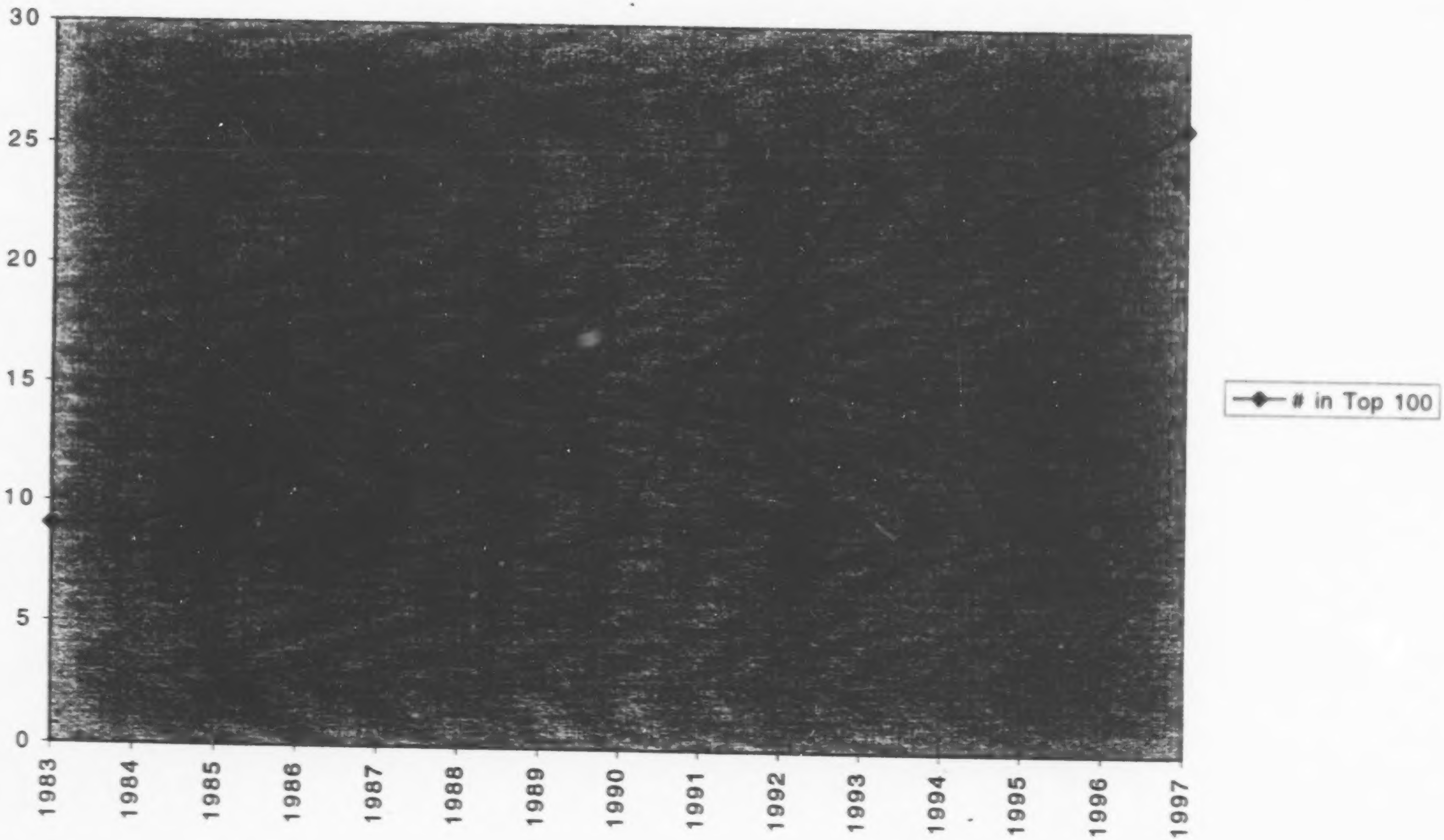

Table 1
Rank of Women Correspondents 1983 to 1997

	1983		1984		1985		1986		1987	
Rank										
1-10	0	0%	0	0%	1	3%	0	0%	0	0%
11-50	4	11%	4	10%	3	8%	5	13%	4	12%
51-100	5	13%	5	12%	6	16%	7	18%	8	24%
101+	28	76%	33	78%	27	73%	27	69%	22	64%
Total	37		42		37		39		34	

	1988		1989		1990		1991		1992	
Rank										
1-10	0	0%	3	9%	1	3%	3	10%	4	10%
11-50	7	22%	3	9%	5	14%	2	6%	7	18%
51-100	8	25%	2	6%	3	9%	11	36%	8	20%
101+	17	53%	26	76%	26	74%	15	48%	21	52%
Total	32		34		35		31		40	

	1993		1994		1995		1996		1997	
Rank										
1-10	3	7%	3	7%	2	4%	1	2%	0	0%
11-50	10	24%	8	18%	8	20%	9	20%	9	18%
51-100	11	27%	10	22%	13	32%	14	34%	17	35%
101+	17	42%	24	53%	18	44%	18	44%	23	47%
Total	41		45		41		42		49	

Table 2

Number of Women Correspondents by Network 1991 - 1997

	1991			1992			1993		
Network	Women	Total	Percent	Women	Total	Percent	Women	Total	Percent
ABC	14	73	19%	14	66	21%	16	67	24%
CBS	8	48	17%	12	51	24%	12	47	26%
NBC	9	60	15%	14	59	24%	13	58	22%
Total	31	181	17%	40	176	23%	41	172	24%

	1994			1995		
Network	Women	Total	Percent	Women	Total	Percent
ABC	20	64	31%	20	62	32%
CBS	13	46	28%	10	43	23%
NBC	12	48	25%	11	45	24%
Total	45	158	28%	41	150	27%

	1996			1997		
Network	Women	Total	Percent	Women	Total	Percent
ABC	19	62	31%	25	68	37%
CBS	13	55	24%	10	47	21%
NBC	8	36	22%	14	52	27%
Total	40	153	26%	49	167	29%

Table 3

Number of Women Correspondents' Reports by Network 1991 - 1997

	1991			1992			1993		
Network	Women	Total	Percent	Women	Total	Percent	Women	Total	Percent
ABC	413	2487	17%	454	2625	17%	593	2535	23%
CBS	422	2395	18%	600	2206	27%	719	2224	32%
NBC	307	2490	12%	462	2542	18%	555	2710	20%
Total	1143	7372	16%	1516	7373	21%	1867	7469	25%

	1994			1995		
Network	Women	Total	Percent	Women	Total	Percent
ABC	499	2298	22%	546	2154	25%
CBS	667	2288	29%	455	2117	21%
NBC	579	2385	24%	437	1877	23%
Total	1745	6971	25%	1438	6148	23%

	1996			1997		
Network	Women	Total	Percent	Women	Total	Percent
ABC	633	2395	26%	670	2160	31%
CBS	430	2264	19%	421	2030	21%
NBC	312	1610	19%	390	2063	19%
Total	1375	6269	22%	1507	6253	24%

Listen Up:

A Comparison of Male and Female Opinion on the Issue of Family Values

by

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Abstract

Recently, many newspapers have intensified efforts to attract new readers, in particular working women. Some have hired female columnists, who are assumed to write more on topics of interest to women and in a style more pleasing to them. This study compares opinion columns by men and women to see whether such gender differences exist. The women were found to frame a "woman's" issue differently and to employ a more "feminine" writing style.

Listen up:

A Comparison of Male and Female Opinion on the Issue of Family Values

With declining readership and increased competition from other media, most mainstream newspapers have intensified efforts to attract new customers and win back old ones. Of particular concern is the loss of women readers. Once the primary customers for afternoon papers, women have abandoned newspapers en masse. In the early 1970s, about 78 percent of women read newspapers on a daily basis; by 1993, only 60.5 percent did (Astor, 1993, p. 26). Yet women have remained loyal readers of books and magazines.

One explanation for the trend is the failure of newspapers to tailor their products to women's wants and needs. Kessler (cited in Astor, 1993) has suggested that newspapers present too masculine a face to women readers. Most reporters are men, and their news articles emphasize male sources and a terse, detached writing style. Columnists, by contrast, are seen as being outside the hierarchy of newspapers. What they write looks different and speaks more directly to readers. "The way you use words--just the style of your writing--makes a connection between reader and writer," Kessler told a predominantly male audience of newspaper editors in 1993. "This is a style more appealing to women" (cited in Astor, p. 26). She suggested that newspapers acquire more women columnists, use more women as sources, and take more interest in local news involving families, child care and education.

A few newspapers have adopted such ideas. In 1994, the Providence *Journal-Bulletin* established a "Hers" section it described as "a forum for women's issues that hasn't existed before" (Giobbbe, 1994, p.22). The section included both light and serious articles on topics such as cars, finances, shopping, parenting and health. The section exceeded expectations with a 48-page debut; 32 advertisers had to be turned away. Also in 1994, the Spokane *Spokesman-Review* sought readers' suggestions to improve its editorial pages. It got requests to diversity its opinions and to put more women on its editorial board. The newspaper added two women to the board and began to publish signed editorials. It designated "interactive" editors--one male and one female--to conduct focus groups and to scour the community for guest writers and ideas for columns (Steiner, 1994).

The Muffled Voice

Numerous studies indicate that women's news and opinions have long been muffled in the mainstream press. Morris (1973) studied local and national newspapers' coverage of feminism during the late 1960s and concluded that papers in England and California withheld information in what amounted to a "news blackout" of the emerging movement. In a study of the international women's decade, Cooper and Davenport (1987) found that negative terms such as "militant" often were associated with the words "feminist" or "feminism" in news stories about early feminist conferences. Despite almost two decades of "equal opportunity," women continue to be underrepresented in the ranks of journalists. As of 1992, women comprised only 34% of the journalistic workforce (Weaver & Wilhoit, 1992, quoted in Lafky, 1993, p. 91. For statistics on women's representation in broadcast and magazine journalism, see also Cramer, 1993; Gist, 1993; Johnson, 1993; and Sanders, 1993). Women who broadcast or write opinion are in particularly short supply. In 1992, for example, the television magazine "Crossfire" presented 55 female guests compared with 440 male guests (Wolf, 1994, p. 20). Even at elite newspapers, female authors of serious opinion columns remain remarkably rare, according to Schulman. "The roster of names of prominent, widely read, nationally syndicated columnists indicates that serious print journalism continues to overrepresent male concerns and male points of view on current issues of public importance," she wrote (1995, pp. 58-59).

The problem, however, extends beyond that of representation. Workplace norms and socialization also play a role. Historians Beasley and Gibbons noted that "women who succeed in the mainstream media have to operate according to the same values as those in command, or not move ahead" (1993, p. 36). And Wolf, in her analysis of women's participation in public debate, found women's socialization to be a particularly strong deterrent in the expression of opinion. "The problem is that the traits required by writing opinion journalism or appearing on adversarial public affairs shows are often in conflict with what are deemed 'appropriate' female speech patterns," she wrote. "Writing opinion journalism is a cranky, self-satisfied, and, in traditionally feminine terms, extremely rude way to behave in public. . . . One is not listening; one is not set on enhancing others' well-being" (1993, p. 24).

Given the opportunity and willingness to express opinion, then, what difference would women be likely to make? Several studies of female reporters and editors suggest that women add their special perspectives in subtle but important ways. Merritt and Gross (1978) compared the way male and female editors of newspaper "lifestyle" sections defined women's news and found women more likely to include coverage of women's news and women's club and social events, while men emphasized entertainment, recreation and leisure. Beasley and Gibbons (1993) observed that women had influenced the automatic inclusion of the abortion-rights side of the abortion argument in news stories and had contributed to public scrutiny of the private lives of presidential candidates like Gary Hart. Women journalists in high-profile jobs help to advance journalism generally by doing a good job, exercising leadership, and encouraging younger women journalists. Remarking on the departure of four top women employees from organizations such as CBS and the New York Times in 1994, Harlan found reason for optimism: "A few years ago, a vacancy created by the departure of a top-ranked woman would have been filled by a man: no other women were in line. But now, there are a lot of women in the pipeline" (1995, p. 39).

Schulman, one of the few researchers to critically examine the works of female columnists, observed that one characteristic of such women is their ability to "successfully fuse personal anecdotes and create description with commentary" (1995, p. 64). Ellen Goodman, for example, often employs personal experience to uncover a tangle of emotions about what might seem a straightforward, politically correct position on a given issue.

Women also write about topics that "tend to concern women more profoundly than men," Schulman said, as has Anna Quindlen in her columns about oppressed groups such as blacks and abused children (1995, p.64). Finally, women often employ writing techniques that are used infrequently within mainstream journalism. Examples include Mary McGrory's extended metaphors and Quindlen's use of voice caricatures.

That women's columns differ from men's along these dimensions, however, has been assumed. Researchers have rarely directly compared the work of male and female journalists to see how they might differ. The comparisons that have been conducted have dealt with issues other than opinion. Is it not possible that the best writers of both sexes, when less encumbered by the journalistic codes of the newsroom, exhibit similarities in style and insight?

Opinion writing is one area of mainstream journalism in which greater freedom of expression is encouraged, if not overtly rewarded. Personalities matter. Typically, the author's photo accompanies his or her column. In contrast to news columns, opinion writing is expected to be thought–provoking, insightful, philosophical, and distinctive.

Method

This study compared the writings of three pairs of male and female columnists on an issue of potential importance to women. The writers selected for comparison were: Ellen Goodman and Garry Wills, both with a liberal orientation (Belford, 1986; Braden, 1993; and "Wills, Garry," 1982); Maggie Gallagher and George Will, both with a conservative orientation (Braden, 1993; "Will, George," 1981); and Anna Quindlen and William Raspberry, both with a liberal orientation and special sensitivity toward minorities ("A Woman," 1994; Braden, 1993; Fibich, 1994). Each writer selected was in 1992 an "elite" syndicated columnist whose work was widely read. Most had won Pulitzer Prizes or other honors for their efforts. Each was matched with a colleague of similar political orientation to help control for differences in political philosophy.

The issue examined was the Murphy Brown-family values debate. Family values rose to prominence in May 1992, when then-Vice President Dan Quayle delivered a speech in which he criticized television character Murphy Brown. His interest was sparked by an episode in which Murphy, portrayed as an opinionated, successful television reporter, announced to her colleagues that she was pregnant. She also told them of her plans to deliver the baby and raise him without the help of a husband or partner. The show sparked reaction not only from Quayle, but from viewers who both admired and detested her actions. Quayle pointed to Murphy as a symbol of the breakdown of American family values, which became a theme of his re-election campaign. Bill Clinton, then a candidate for President, likened Murphy to his valiant single mother. Murphy Brown and the family values debate reemerged as an issue during the 1996 Democratic and Republican conventions. The issue continues to attract comment.

The columns were obtained through the Lexis-Nexis information service for the dates May, 1992, through December, 1992. Quayle's speech occurred in May, and the issue reemerged later that year with the start of the new television season and the Presidential election campaigns. All six columnists wrote about the issue at least once during that period; some wrote about it repeatedly.

The study sought to answer the following questions:

1) Did the women columnists write about the issue more frequently than their male colleagues?

2) Did the women frame the problem differently?

3) Did the women employ a more "feminine" style of writing?

"Frequency" was determined based on the number of editorials published between April and December, 1992. The initial search retrieved all newspaper and magazine columns written by the authors during that time which mentioned Murphy Brown, Dan Quayle or family values. Articles were included in the study if they mentioned Murphy Brown or Dan Quayle in connection with family values or if they discussed the meaning or importance of family values. Because not all the columnists wrote for magazines, only columns that appeared in newspapers were used to determine frequency. Both newspaper and magazine articles, however, were employed for the qualitative analysis.

In the qualitative analysis, framing was judged based on Entman's definition: "To frame is to select some aspect of a perceived reality and make (it) more salient in a communicating text" (1993, p. 52). Of particular interest was how each columnist defined the problem, diagnosed the causes, made moral judgments, and suggested remedies.

Several authors have proposed criteria for judging women's writing, talk and artistic work, all of which might be applied to opinion columns. (See Foss, 1988; Bate, 1988; Schulman, 1993; and Steiner, 1995). Ruby (1995) demonstrated how similar criteria were applied at a radical-feminist publication. In defining "feminine writing style," this study drew from common themes suggested by those authors cited. The study sought to identify: 1) use of symbolism familiar to women, such as references to cooking, sewing and children; 2) incorporation of multiple perspectives; 3) use of creative writing techniques, such as puns, extended metaphor, and caricature; and 4) provision of a positive context for interpreting the actions or behaviors of women, such as expectancy, pride and celebration.

The Liberals

Ellen Goodman wrote five columns dealing with Murphy Brown and family values during the seven months following Dan Quayle's initial speech about the character. Garry Wills wrote no newspaper columns on the topic but did publish a lengthy magazine piece on Reaganism and family values. Wills' piece in *Time* magazine essentially covered the same points made in two of Goodman's newspaper columns. Both writers decried the hypocrisy of conservative family-values rhetoric in which traditional, two-parent families were idealized and others regarded as sub-standard. Reaganism "began with Hollywood values installed on the Potomac," Wills wrote (November 16, 1992, p. 73). "Frank Sinatra, that champion of family virtue, staging an Inauguration for his old friends, Ronald, Jane Wyman's ex-husband, and Nancy, the goddaughter of a famous lesbian (the silent screen star Alla Nazimova)." With less sarcasm but a similar point, Goodman compared the Republicans' approach to the topic unfavorably with the Democrats': "Ronald Reagan Republicans also include the sons of parent alcoholics who've been over the coals of marriage and divorce. But Bill Clinton Democrats deal with it by talking about it" (*The Boston Globe*, July 19, 1992, p. 63).

As Republican prospects for winning the White House dimmed, both Goodman and Wills framed the family-values debate as a sign of desperation. In calling for a speedy end to Quayle's continued attacks on Murphy Brown, Goodman pointed to the Republicans' real-world action related to families--in particular, to George Bush's veto of the Family and Medical Leave Act. "The Dan-Murphy debate about family forms, morality and motherhood is a diversion," she wrote (*Newsday*, September 15, 1991, p. 80). " It turns attention away from what can be done to mute these conflicts. It focuses on private not public choices. On what government can't do rather than what it can do." Wills assessed the campaign as ending "not with a bang but a whimper--Dan Quayle whining about Murphy Brown, Hollywood and family values" (*Time*, November 16, 1992, p. 73). In his view, the Republicans failed not only on the cultural front with the family values issue, but also on economics and foreign policy, with which most of his column dealt.

Goodman and Wills made their points, however, using different symbolism and writing styles. Wills employed the metaphors of war, noting that conservatives staged a "cultural war using political instruments" such as grants, scholarships and legal tests for affirmative action. In foreign policy, Bush treated Operation Desert Storm like World War II, attacking Saddam Hussein as the "New Hitler" and invoking the Allies as against the Axis (*Time*, November 16, 1992, p. 73). The column took the form of an essay, with thesis, supporting detail and an odd jab or two at Republicans for spice. Goodman employed a lighter touch. Using puns and metaphors from television and advertising, she compared the Dan and Murphy debate to a "too long-running family sitcom (in which) the comedy is wearing thin" and accused Quayle of "trying to turn this heavy stuff into a Lite controversy." She wrote about the form of the debate as opposed to the function of the Family Leave Act: "It's the functioning of families, or maybe the disfunctioning of families, that worries Americans today." (*Newsday*, September 15, 1992, p. 80). Goodman also employed television imagery in discussing the Democratic Convention, likening it to a soap opera or an Oprah Winfrey talk show, two genres with which many women are familiar. The Republicans, she said, presented families in the "wash of nostalgia" and the "harsh glare of moral judgment," suggesting in women's terms that the Republicans had cleaned up their image and applied a standard that few could attain.

Unlike Wills, Goodman explored additional facets of the Murphy Brown-family values issue in other columns. For example, she saw a contradiction in Quayle's statement that Americans have a "poverty of values." The problem was not a poverty of values but a "plethora of values," she wrote in a piece that caricatured the Republican position, "most of them in conflict with each other" (*Newsday*, May 26, 1992, p. 34). "Murphy Brown had a baby. That's bad. She chose the baby over the abortion. That's good. Now she's an unwed mother. That's bad. What's a pregnant woman to do with an administration that's hostile to single mother and opposed to abortion? Stay pregnant?" In an unconventional Father's Day column, Goodman also wrote about the flip side of unwed motherhood--deadbeat fatherhood. She employed the fable of fainting fathers from old-fashioned television sitcoms to make her point about Jake, the fictitious father of Murphy Brown's baby: "Did he faint in a dead heap?" Goodman asked. "Did he blush with pleasure and run out and buy her pickles? No, Murphy's ex-husband . . . told her he had to go out and save the world. Good luck and goodbye" (*Chicago Tribune*, June 21, 1992, p. 3C). Goodman's column drew an analogy between failed marriages and Humpty Dumpty, the nursery-rhyme character whom all the king's horses and men couldn't put together again. "The wish that we could put together the humpty-dumpty of many marriages, hope our way back to a society with one nuclear family model, can . . . prevent us from focusing on the ties between fathers and children," she said.

Both children's imagery and cooking imagery figured in Goodman's post-election column about the Year of the Woman. The piece discussed a new version of the perennially popular Barbie doll, the "Presidential" Barbie, replete with inaugural gown. Goodman pronounced Barbie "all dolled up and ready to rule," an advance over previous versions that were dolled up with nothing in mind at all. Superficially, the doll seemed an apt metaphor for both Hillary Clinton and many newly elected Congresswomen. Hillary, whose election-year makeovers kept fashion editors busy, was headed for Washington, as was the largest delegation of women legislators in the nation's history. Goodman, however, made it plain that she expected more than fashion news from this group of capable women. "She may not be the president," Goodman wrote of the new First Lady. "But she ain't no Barbie doll either (*Newsday*, November 10, 1992, p. 86). The column offered a lighthearted "recipe" for women's continued political success. The ingredients included a "motivating dash of Anita Hill," a "fatbinder" of money, and the proper mixture of issues: domestic, women's and family.

The Conservatives

Maggie Gallagher wrote about the Murphy Brown-family values issue once during the seven-month sampling period; George Will wrote about the issue twice. Gallagher's column began with a confession, that like Murphy Brown, she was a journalist and an unwed mother. Gallagher agreed with Dan Quayle that single parenthood was less than ideal, and she offered suggestions for improving its likelihood of success. As did Goodman, she employed the form of a multi-step personal "recipe." Five of the steps suggested disadvantages to mothers. These included "find a boss who doesn't mind if you bring a sick 4-year-old and his dinosaurs to the office," and "accept that . . . you are going to have far less money than anyone you know, except other single mothers." The last step suggested a disadvantage to children: "Prepare for the nights when your child cries himself to sleep in your arms, wondering why his father doesn't love him" (*Dallas Morning News*, October 4, 1992, p. 5J). Using a metaphor familiar to mothers, she concluded, "We have to stop pretending . . . that fathers are just another new disposable item in the nursery." Thus, Gallagher agreed with the conservative position that two-parent families are ideal but justified that position based on its advantages for women and children.

Although Gallagher obviously considered the issue of family values important, she did not write other columns on the topic. Her reticence might be explained by the fact that she published, in 1996, a book on the subject of divorce titled, *The Abolition of Marriage: How We Destroy Lasting Love* (Arkes, 1996).

George Will saw the family-values issue as irrelevant to the true purposes of government and a sign of desperation in the Republican Party. He employed metaphors of disease and pestilence in developing his theses. "The Republicans have caught a virulent version of the Democrats' tendency . . . to turn disagreement into moral assault," he lamented in an editorial about the Republican Convention (*The Atlanta Constitution*, August 24, 1992). He poked fun at some convention speakers as "America the Endangered Species" Republicans. His references to women's roles at the convention were less than complimentary and reinforced negative stereotypes of women. "Mrs. Quayle's speech was evidence for those who say women should be kept out of combat not because they are physically frail or morally fine but because they are too fierce to respect the rules of war," he wrote. Barbara Bush's contribution to the evening's thoughts "was that families are good." In his view, then, the women speakers were either predatory or unable to contribute substantively to the proceedings. Will's column about the Democratic Convention suggested that the family-values issue was "barely relevant to presidential duties" (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 22, 1992, p. 3C). He predicted that failure to attend to more important concerns could cost the Republicans the election. The Democrats assembled "like a swarm of impervious appetites," he wrote, while Republicans fretted that the nation's values were "disappearing down the drain with a horrid gurgle." He relied mainly on historical examples to support his points. Women were referred to only once, as test subjects in an experiment demonstrating the Hawthorne effect. Will warned that Bill Clinton could win the election because of the Hawthorne effect, or because any change appeared more attractive than the status quo.

Liberals with Sensitivity Toward Minorities

Anna Quindlen and William Raspberry each wrote six columns about the Murphy Brown-family values debate during the period under examination. Quindlen wrote about family values as a divisive issue, as a signal of Republican desperation and as inappropriate in a democratic society. In addition, she commented on the use of family values as a basis for attacking abortion rights and Hillary Clinton. References to children's literature and television figure prominently in several of her columns. "Like Jiminy Cricket, we let our conscience be our guide," she wrote in advancing the idea that moral truths are a personal issue rather than a political one (*Chicago Tribune*, June 16, 1992, p. 19C). After George Bush declined to debate Bill Clinton, she taunted the President using the words of the hookah-smoking caterpillar in *Alice in Wonderland*, "Whoooo are youuuu?" (*Chicago Tribune*, September 29, 1992, p. 17C).

Three of Quindlen's columns employed extended metaphors. One satirical example, which addressed Murphy Brown's suitability as a role model, started with a "TV listing" of a fictitious soap opera called "The Days and Nights of Danny Quayle." The column also incorporated a fictitious "interview" with Murphy Brown, who "sounded groggy, a combination of nighttime feedings and three calls from the office to see if she was ready to come back to work after taking a full five days off to have a baby" (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 29, 1992, p. 3C). Murphy, feeding the baby and holding down her job, was thus revealed to be more real than Quayle, whom the interviewer suggested had spent several years as the bumbling golf pro on "All My Children." "When people start acting as though Dan Quayle is a real person," Quindlen wrote, "we are in way over our remote controls" (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 29, 1992, p. 3C). An extended metaphor also figured in Quindlen's piece about Pat Buchanan's speech at the Republican Convention. Quindlen likened Buchanan to the "jock" her son had brought home, a stranger who would "by contrast, teach (him) what (he's) made of" (*New York Times*, September 6, 1996, section 4, p. 11). In Quindlen's words, Buchanan offered Americans the following slate of family values: "Distrust differences. Revile people who are gay. Dismiss the aspirations of women." That is, his speech showed the country what it did not want in the fall election. "You could almost hear millions of folks saying 'Guys, we'll take care of our values if you take care of the country,'" Quindlen wrote.

Two Quindlen columns celebrated women's struggles and accomplishments. In one, Quindlen defended Hillary Clinton against Republican attacks based on family values. Quindlen subtly compared the attacks to a series of children's games: dress up, pretend, good cop-bad cop, and finally, dirty pool. Republicans "don't like Hillary because she's a working mom with a hard edge," Quindlen wrote. "As opposed to Barbara Bush, who is a working mom with a hard edge who pretends not to work and pretends to be a big softie" (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 20, 1992, p. 3C). In a column about abortion rights, Quindlen wrote about the quiet heroism of Sherri Finkbine. Finkbine, the mother of four children and hostess of a "Romper Room" television show in the 1950's, lost her job after she chose to have an abortion rather than give birth to a child crippled by exposure to thalidomide. Finkbine's choice not to have the baby reflected family values, Quindlen wrote, because "she thought that having the baby would kill her family" (*New York Times*, June 17, 1992, p. A25).

Raspberry wrote about family values as a sign of Republican desperation, a wedge issue in the Presidential campaign and as inappropriate in a democracy. In addition, he examined the issue in relation to a Council of Family Values report, to the values of his slave ancestors, and to the values of a fictitious, Washington, D.C., cab driver.

Raspberry criticized Dan Quayle's comments about Murphy Brown as evidence of "the administration's difficulty in dealing sensibly and seriously with domestic issues, including economic dislocation, racial disparity and the crisis of our cities" (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 27, 1992, p. 3C). In another column, he acknowledged that the decline of families was a serious issue and suggested that policy and workplace solutions also were required. "Talk of 'family values' can, in some guises, be just another way of wishing women back into submissive, non-threatening roles, a way of repudiating the positive changes of recent years" (*The Houston Chronicle*, August 1, 1992, p. A36). Later, he argued that talking about whether schools should teach values or teach about values was divisive and obscured a more important issue. "The point is not to argue which sort of family arrangement is best but how best to make sure our children--all our children--acquire the values they need," he wrote (*The Washington Post*, October 7, 1992, p. A25). He dismissed a set of propositions drawn up by the Council on Families in America as providing only " a working definition" for the family values debate: "None of these propositions is of much help in telling us how to produce the committed, permanent, child-centered families that the overworked phrase 'family values' is calculated to invoke" (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, September 14, 1992, p. 3B).

To suggest potential solutions, Raspberry drew from his own family's oral history tradition and from a fictitious conversation with a Washington, D.C., cab driver. Although the slave regime promoted marital and familial instabilities, Raspberry's forebears and those of many other African-Americans managed to keep their families intact, he wrote. His family continues to teach family culture and values through an annual pageant dedicated to his "Nameless Grandmother," a slave who died in a forced march from Virginia to Kentucky (*The Houston Chronicle*, August 26, 1992, p. A21). Raspberry used the device of a fictitious conversation with a cab driver to present a working-class perspective on the family values debate. In the guise of seeking information about family values, the street-wise cabbie gradually revealed the hypocrisy of an Administration that extolled family values on one hand while it failed to support measures that could have helped families. The measures included a minimum-wage increase, a family-leave bill, and a tax break for parents (*The Atlanta Constitution*, August 28, 1992, p. A12).

Discussion

Two of the three women columnists matched or exceeded the number of articles produced by their male colleagues on the topic of Murphy Brown and family values. Among the liberals, Ellen Goodman wrote five newspaper columns; Garry Wills wrote none, although he published a magazine article on the topic. Among the liberals with special sensitivity toward minorities, Anna Quindlen and William Raspberry each wrote six columns. The single exception occurred among the conservatives. Maggie Gallagher wrote one column dealing with family values compared with George Will's two. Counting her book published after the sampling period, however, Gallagher's total writings on the issue far exceeded Will's. The publication of her book suggested that she took the topic seriously. Will, in contrast, signaled his impatience with values-related debate when he demanded rhetorically: "Is there no public business--roads, schools, national defense, stuff like that--(the Administration) could attend to?" (*The Atlanta Constitution*, August 24, 1992, A10). Garry Wills also seemed to rank family values lower in importance than did his female peers. Although he discussed the issue as an Administration failure on the cultural front, he gave equal weight to other failures--the economy and foreign policy. Goodman, however, made Murphy Brown and family values the focus of her five columns. Alone among the male writers, William Raspberry considered family values worthy of sustained attention. He explored the issue's implication not only for black communities generally but in terms of his female ancestors' contributions to his own family.

The women writers also framed the debate somewhat differently than did their male colleagues. While both Goodman and Wills viewed the Administration's discussion of family values as a diversion from its weak record on domestic policy and a sign of weakness in the Presidential election campaign, Goodman alone gave deadbeat dads the same scrutiny as unwed mothers. She also found female heroines in the front lines of the debate, including the fictitious Murphy Brown, Hillary Clinton, and real-life Congresswomen. Gallagher was somewhat less critical of the family values issue than her fellow conservative, Will. She agreed with Dan Quayle that two-parent families were ideal, but grounded her argument on the arrangement's advantages to women and children rather than on moral principles. Unlike Will, she wrote from personal experience, which undoubtedly influenced her perspective. Perhaps most important, she did not demean women, as did Will in one of his columns. Quindlen and Raspberry exhibited more similarities in their framing than did the other pairs of writers. Both explored various facets of the family values issue and both celebrated women's accomplishments within the family. Quindlen's editorials, however, stuck more closely to women's concerns than did Raspberry's. While he discussed the family's importance within black communities, she discussed the relation of abortion rights to family values and defended Hillary Clinton's family values from various Republican assaults.

The women writers were far more likely to display characteristics of "feminine" writing style than did their male colleagues. All three women employed symbols familiar to women readers. References to baking were the most popular. Goodman and Gallagher, for example, each shared "recipes" with their readers, while Quindlen discussed her own and Hillary Clinton's cookie-baking skills (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 20, 1992, p. 3C). References to children's games, literature and television also occurred frequently. Male writers used different symbols, most often those of war. The women writers also were more likely to discuss family values from multiple perspectives, as did Quindlen in her editorial about Sherri Finkbine and Gallagher when she warned of single parenthood's effects on children. Among the male writers, Raspberry alone examined family values from perspectives other than his own. Although nearly all of the writers employed metaphors, puns and caricatures, Goodman's and Quindlen's columns particularly were packed with such devices. The hapless Dan Quayle, for example, was a frequent target of caricature. Goodman seemed to summarize his place in the family values debate when she wrote about his comments on Murphy Brown: "Quayle laid an egg" (*Newsday*, May 26, 1992, p. 34).

This comparison of columns by male and female authors supports Schulman's thesis that women's columns differ from men's along several dimensions. First, the women writers were more likely than their male colleagues to choose Murphy Brown and family values as a topic for discussion. They wrote 12 articles on the subject to the men's nine during the eight months that followed Quayle's criticisms of Murphy Brown. Moreover, Gallagher later published a book devoted entirely to the topic of single- and unwed motherhood. Second, the women writers were more likely than the men to link personal experience with the broader arena of social, cultural and political analysis. They often referred to their own or other women's personal experiences in their writings. Unlike their colleagues, who frequently used metaphors of war or pestilence, the women preferred metaphors of hearth and home. They often made their points with anecdotes about cooking, children's games and stories, or television shows popular among women. In one column Goodman even criticized Republican proposals for dealing with family values-related problems as too much focussed on private, as opposed to public, solutions. Finally, as Schulman contended, the women writers were more likely than the male writers to display characteristics of a "feminine writing style." That is, they were more likely to incorporate multiple perspectives, express pride or joy in the actions or accomplishments of women, and use creative writing techniques such as puns, metaphors and caricatures. All of the women, for example, wrote columns praising the accomplishments of single mothers. Only one of the men--Raspberry--wrote columns with similar themes. The only column in the group that criticized women, however, was Wills' critique of the Republican Convention's "family values" night.

In addition, this analysis suggests that women writers may frame women's issues differently than do male writers. In the case of family values, the women were more likely than their male colleagues to take the issue seriously and to examine its implications for women. Though they sometimes reached-different conclusions, all of the women seemed to consider family values a significant issue, and all wrote about its possible effects on women's lives. Gallagher's column examined the issue's potential impact on career women; Goodman's columns, its impact on working mothers and women abandoned by their husbands; and Quindlen's, its impact on destitute mothers and mothers whose fetuses are seriously deformed. In contrast, two of the three male writers expressed disgust with Republican failure to deal with more "important" issues in the 1992 Presidential campaign. Both Will and Wills viewed family values primarily as a weapon in the Republicans' troubled bid to reclaim the White House. They seemed to care about the issue less in terms of its implications for women and children than in terms of its implications for political control. Among the male writers, only Raspberry--an African American--examined the issue's significance for families. Although he discussed family values in terms of its possible influence on the political campaign, he also wrote about its potential effects on individuals. Unlike Quindlen, whose columns dealt almost exclusively with effects on women and children, Raspberry also explored the issue's impact on members of the working class, as personified by the male cab driver, and on larger components of society, such as communities and inner cities.

Thus, women writers do seem to differ from male writers in their general approach to writing opinion. These differences may help to explain why women often have had difficulty securing writing positions as columnists and why their efforts may be less highly regarded by their male superiors than those of male writers. On the other hand, these differences also help to explain why women's columns may resonate more strongly with female readers. They drive home the potential of women opinion writers to help revitalize struggling newspapers.

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News of "kiddie killings": Feminist theories of news coverage and violence

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Abstract: This case study of recent shooting sprees by young boys throughout the U.S. argues that feminist theories of violence against women were ignored as possible explanators in media analysis of the killings. This research points to the need for feminist theory to broaden its view of violence against women to highlight issues of power and coercive control, and show how these acts of violence serve to maintain individuals' control over situations and other people.

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News of "kiddie killings": Feminist theories of news coverage and violence

One of the most disturbing trends noted in the news is the increasing violence of children. In the past year, at least four high-profile killing "sprees" have emerged, and gained nationwide attention. In October 1997, Luke Woodham, a 16-year-old from Pearl, Mississippi, killed his mother then went to school and shot nine students, killing two of them, including his ex-girlfriend. In December of last year, 14-year-old Michael Carneal opened fire on a school prayer circle in West Paducah, Kentucky, killing three students and wounding five others. In March of this year, an 11-year-old and 13-year-old in Jonesboro, Arkansas pulled a fire alarm at their school and then waited in the woods and opened fire on the students and teachers exiting the building. This action resulted in the deaths of four students and one teacher. And most recently, this past May 15-year-old Kip Kinkel killed his parents and then opened fire in his high school cafeteria in Springfield, Oregon, killing two and wounding 22 others.[1] The resulting media coverage of these killings has been sustained and detailed. In trying to explain these actions and perhaps link them, various media outlets have offered their own analyses of the reasons behind the crimes. News reports and editorials pointed to lax parenting, easy availability of guns, depression and other mental health problems, and a violence-saturated cultural environment as possible predictors or explanators of these crimes. Yet, I believe an important factor has been overlooked. As mentioned above, in the case of Woodham, one of the victims killed was his ex-girlfriend. Additionally, he stabbed his mother to death. In the Arkansas shootings, 13-year-old Andrew Golden had reportedly told people prior to the shootings that he was upset over breaking up with his girlfriend, saying he felt "the need to kill" ("A Disturbing Pattern Emerges as Teens Open Fire Once Again," *Portland Press Herald*, 3/26/98, p. 16A). Additionally, Michael Carneal had a crush on one of his victims who supposedly did not feel the same way about him (Cloud, July 6, 1998, p. 62). These statements raise serious questions that the news media largely did not consider. Why were these killers young boys? How was it that most of their victims were girls or women?[2] This factor, while perhaps not the conclusive or "only" answer or factor in the killings, could have led the media in different directions for how to cover such crimes, and how society viewed them. This factor, considered broadly as violence against women, or more broadly, patriarchal conceptions of violence and control was worthy of further investigation.

In this paper I have explored how the media framed these four stories, what they commented on and what they ignored. I have argued that issues of power and control were central to understanding these stories, and therefore feminist theories of violence against women, as well as of power and control, should have been integrated and used more widely in examining media coverage of crime. In undertaking this analysis, I first lay out the arguments that feminist theorists make concerning violence against women, and society's attitudes toward power and control. Next, I briefly assess the state of news coverage of violence against women, and how it relates to this study. Finally, I examine a selection of stories surrounding each of the four killing sprees mentioned, and I demonstrate how an integration of feminist theory would give us a more complex yet more complete understanding of the violence. I also argue that feminist media theories should be integrated into theories that attempt to interpret the news generally, as issues of power and control are integral to understanding our society, as well as understanding relations between the genders.

Feminist theories of violence against women

One of the most important results of feminist research on violence against women is the recognition of just how widespread and deadly the problem has become. For example, The American Medical Association and FBI has estimated that 4 million women are battered every year. In Massachusetts in 1992, a woman was murdered by her husband or boyfriend every nine days. One-third of all female homicide victims have been killed by husbands, ex-husbands, boyfriends or ex-boyfriends. And approximately 1 in 10 high school students has experienced physical violence in dating relationships, while for college students, the figure rises to 22%.[3] These statistics, which can vary according to the source, still point to the deadliness of the problem, and its continuing nature.

At first glance, the issue of violence against women would seem to be a minor or irrelevant factor in the stories about the shooting sprees. However, as I hope to demonstrate, this is mainly because current conceptualizations of violence against women have been too narrowly defined. Most feminist research investigating violence against women takes rape as the central issue (Cuklanz, 1996; Gordon & Riger, 1989). These researchers argue that rape has only recently come to be understood from a women's point of view, instead of being seen as a legal issue involving "property rights" and the proper control of women (keeping women sexually "pure" for marriage and the continuation of patriarchal hereditary lines), as well as being construed as a way of enforcing women's self-control and sexual activity (feeding the myth that rape only happens to "bad" girls who ask for it or wear the wrong clothes at the wrong time). Feminist theorists working in this area have begun to successfully challenge these patriarchal conceptions of rape, and have begun to heed black feminists' demands for recognizing the interconnectedness of race and class in understanding rape and "rape culture," or the belief that a patriarchal society condones the use of rape to properly control women (hooks, 1984).

Increasingly, more feminist attention has been paid to the issue of domestic violence. Researchers working in this area argue that while ideas about domestic violence are changing, they are rooted in the same patriarchal beliefs about the proper control of women, proper ideas concerning how men can treat "their" women, and myths about causes of battering, and how to end it/escape it (Crenshaw, 1991; Jones, 1994; hooks, 1984; Howe, 1997; Meyers, 1997; Narayan, 1995). Feminists working in this area have challenged various myths surrounding battering, such as the belief that men who batter are sick or deviant, that the problem of battering is easily solvable, that it generally happens only to the poor and people of color, and that women can easily escape from abusive relationships. While their work has begun to change some of our beliefs concerning domestic violence (as Ann Jones points out, the question posed to battered women has changed from "why don't you stay and work it out?" to "why don't you leave now?"), many myths and misconceptions remain prevalent in American society.

While both of these areas of study are valuable for feminist theorizing of male violence, they both take specific issues (rape and domestic violence) as their central focus. This is very fruitful for the specific issues, yet not as relevant for the present concern. One theorist who attempts to go beyond this issue-oriented approach is bell hooks. Hooks argues that rape and domestic violence must be seen as part of larger issues in our society, issues of power and control. Hooks writes that in American society, "power is commonly equated with domination and control over people or things" (1984, p. 83). She argues that while our society has been and continues to be largely patriarchal, it is dangerous to assume that only men, or white men, are responsible for our present situation. While acknowledging the real inequalities that women and people of color have faced, hooks argues that we must see how everyone in our society is implicated in the continuation of this notion of power. For example, she suggests that while white women have been oppressed by white men, these same white women may have participated in systems of power, or exercised power, over women or men of color. Additionally, hooks argues that this system of control filters down to how we raise our children, teaching them through our actions that coercive control is acceptable and the norm, and the accepted demonstration of power.

Here hooks is broadening our conception of violence considerably, challenging feminist theory to question our prevailing notion of power as domination. She argues that

> "while male supremacy encourages the use of abusive force to maintain male domination of women, it is the Western philosophical notion of hierarchical rule and coercive authority that is the root cause of violence against women, of adult violence against children, of all violence between those who dominate and those who are dominated. It is this belief system that is the foundation on which sexist ideology and other ideologies of group oppression are based; they can be eliminated only when this foundation is eliminated" (p. 118).

Hooks' argument widens our understanding of violence in society, and violence against women. Her re-theorization of violence against women is a valuable tool for understanding the recent shootings in the South. Before beginning to investigate the coverage, however, it is important to examine research that has analyzed news coverage of violence against women, to determine what coverage in the past has reported, and more importantly, how this coverage shapes our views about violence and violence against women.

News coverage of violence against women

Feminist media theorists who examine news coverage of violence against women have drawn links between this coverage and crime news in general (Cuklanz, 1996; Gordon & Riger, 1989; Meyers, 1994; Meyers, 1997). They have argued that crime news serves as a powerful normalizing force in society, illustrating for us what is deviant and what is not. As Gordon and Riger explain, this coverage is important because "given the dearth of firsthand information most people have about violent crime, the media play a vital role in creating for the public the vicarious reality about criminal victimization, and about the capacity (or incapacity) of American society's institutions to deal with it" (1989, p. 67). Because of this reliance on the media for understandings of crime, feminist media theorists argue that it is important for news coverage to accurately reflect crime in society. As Lisa Cuklanz argues, this "accurate reflection" is tied to the "struggle both to construct a [sense of] reality and to circulate that reality as widely and smoothly as possible throughout society" (Fiske, in Cuklanz, 1996, p. 6). While patriarchal notions have defined violence against women in one way, feminist theorists have worked to define it in another way, a way that reconceptualizes roles between men and women, and the ways power should work and be exercised in American society. Studying news coverage of how this power is exercised then becomes a way of determining how popular attitudes and beliefs may or may not have changed. Additionally, news coverage becomes a way to justify (or not justify) taking a stronger stand against such crimes.

Feminist media research on news coverage of violence against women has largely examined the specific issues of rape and domestic violence. Meyers (1997) has examined domestic violence coverage, and has argued that this coverage still reflects sexist as well as racist and classist attitudes toward women victims. Women are either positioned as having "asked for" the assault/killing, or having provoked it. The men are usually shown to be deviant or sick, unlike "normal" men and therefore not representative of mainstream society. They are generally described as having lost control or "snapped." While news accounts of their actions may give us contradictory evidence (a man who "snapped" yet was also carrying a will and numerous rounds of ammunition with him) the coverage continually returns to the belief that the man is unlike other men in society. In short, the coverage refuses to admit to patriarchal control in American society, where it is a normal occurrence for men to control "their" women with whatever means necessary (Meyers, 1997).

Research regarding coverage of rape contains many similar findings. Men who rape are described as either "deviants" or sociopaths, or as having "lost control," usually upon seeing a woman dressed and/or acting in a certain way. Rape coverage often suggests the woman may have provoked the attack (walking in a certain neighborhood, dressing a certain way) or deserved the attack (accompanying a strange man to his hotel room, his apartment). Additionally, researchers studying news coverage of rape argue that racist and classist stereotypes are still present, including the myth of the black male rapist assaulting white women, and lower-class or poor women as having dressed in a certain way in order to provoke the attack.

How can feminist media research on violence against women apply to this case study? While many of the findings just discussed apply to the issues of rape and domestic violence, I believe many of them are equally suited to the present analysis. For example, the belief that the man who has committed the crime has snapped or lost control. Men who commit violence against women are positioned in the news as not like other men, not normal. They are deviants, whose background is generally used to explain their criminal actions.

However, feminist research also suggests that in coverage of violence against women, the woman is usually portrayed as having provoked or deserved the violence. What if the woman (or women and/or girls) are not shown in this manner? What if they are portrayed as completely innocent? Meyers argues that this positioning does happen, and it serves to further position the man as even more sick or deviant. After all, why would a "normal" person assault or kill completely innocent people? Only the truly deranged would do such a thing.

Finally, although little feminist media research has addressed this issue, I believe it is important to examine news coverage to determine how issues of power and control are addressed, if at all. Returning to bell hooks, we must examine how power and coercive control are intertwined in American society. While their most common expression may be in the form of domestic violence or rape, they occur in all our relationships in many forms. This view challenges us to examine the coverage of the killing sprees as an issue of power and control, as not only an issue of violence against women, but of violence as a means for exercising one form of power, one that is about coercive control.

Case Study: News Analysis of the Shootings

In this section, I examine a sampling of news accounts taken from each of the four shootings. I have identified these news accounts from a Lexis/Nexis search, and my sample of articles includes video news packages from ABC (20/20) and CNN as well as radio packages (NPR's All Things Considered) and traditional print news sources including the *L.A. Times, New York Times, USA Today, Austin American-Statesman, The San Francisco Examiner, Arizon Republic, Times-Picayune, Dallas Morning News,* and the *Baltimore Sun.* Articles and packages were chosen for their detailed treatment of the events, as well as their inclusion of analyses of potential factors that may have led to the crimes. Therefore, generally longer pieces were analyzed, and they were usually written at least several days following the particular shootings. This allowed accounts to develop a greater number of sources and more informed speculation concerning the crimes and what led up to them. It also allowed for integration of the three stories. Many of the pieces discussing the December 1997 shootings of a school prayer group, the March 1998 Arkansas middle school shootings, and the May 1998 Oregon high school shootings reference the earlier shootings as well, often attempting to draw links between them. I believe these articles are more useful for analysis than more immediate post-shooting articles and packages, which often gave little explanatory information, and therefore offered the reader little with which to interpret or understand the events. What then were some of the links made, and how did the news attempt to explain these killings?

For this analysis, I will refer to the shootings as follows, in order to avoid confusion: the October 1997 killings by 16-year-old Luke Woodham (of his mother, ex-girlfriend and one other student) in Pearl, Mississippi will be referred to as the *Woodham killings;* the December 1997 killings by 14-year-old Michael Carneal (of three female students in a prayer group) in West Paducah, Kentucky will be referred to as the *Carneal killings*; the March 1998 killings by 13-year-old Mitchell Johnson and 11-year-old Andrew Golden (of four female students and one female teacher) in Jonesboro, Arkansas will be referred to as the *Johnson and Golden killings*, and the May 1998 killings by 15-year-old Kip Kinkel (of his parents and two students) in Springfield, Oregon will be referred to as the *Kinkel killings*.

Men and Boys: Sick and Deviant or Snapped and Out of Control

As I suggested in the previous section, news coverage of men who commit violence against women often portrays these men as having snapped or lost control. They are also often portrayed as sick or deviant, therefore not reflective of society at large. By making these men unlike other men, the problem becomes an individual one, and larger societal issues can then be ignored. This positioning as snapped/lost control or sick/deviant was clearly demonstrated in coverage of the four shooting incidents. It is also important to note that these two positionings have often been used to differentiate between "good" men who otherwise did not pose a threat to others, and men more likely to be considered "bad" or sociopaths, men who were outside the mainstream of society in general, not merely for the incident in question.

Coverage of the four shooting incidents took both of these approaches. Most recently, in the case of the Kinkel killings, Kinkel was largely described as sick and deviant, and in control of his actions. In an article examining all of the shootings, *Time* magazine had the following exposition "imagine 15-year-old Kipland Kinkel in rustic Springfield, Ore., chatting with two buddies on a three-way phone call May 20—probably while his father's corpse lay on the floor, a bullet drilled through his skull…When [his mother] finally arrived, he allegedly said, "I love you Mom," and then unloaded his weapon into her" (Cloud, July 6, 1998, p. 58). Kinkel is positioned here as a cold-blooded killer, able not only to murder his parents but chat amiably with friends while waiting to finish the deed. Another article referred to Kinkel's past "before he was charged with emptying a .22 caliber rifle into a crowded high school cafeteria, 15-year-old Kip Kinkel often bragged about torturing animals and building bombs, his friends said" (Wong, July 8, 1998, p. 14). This is not a boy who suddenly let loose in a rage. Kinkel was portrayed as a calm, cool and collected killer, biding his time and carefully planning his actions. This view of Kinkel as sick and deviant was also reinforced by reference to his parents, who had apparently tried many approaches to help their troubled son, including counseling, punishment, unhooking the television and computer, and even teaching him the proper use of firearms. As many sources claimed, the Kinkels were "model parents" and therefore were not to blame for Kip's actions. The fact they were his first victims only served to underscore this. Because they could not be blamed, Kip's actions seemed to rest on his own shoulders.

In the case of the Woodham killings, Woodham was also consistently labeled as sick or deviant, definitely outside of the mainsteam. In one article, it was mentioned that he "had formed a morose circle called "The Group." It based itself on violent and anti-Christian writings of German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche" (Bowles, 1998, p. 9A). Further, the same article stated that Woodham had written and passed around a "manifesto" before the spree that claimed "murder is not weak and slow-witted. Murder is gutsy and daring." Other accounts suggested that Woodham was an "outcast" that was ready to "spit back" at a world that had "spit on him" for the last time. The group he hung around with all dressed in black clothing, and wore dog chains and broken crosses around their necks. To firmly cement the link between Woodham and deviance, however, great attention was paid to the idea that the boy had been a member of a cult known as Kroth (perhaps the same as The Group) that planned for cult members to "lay siege to the school, setting off napalm fires and cutting telephone lines before killing selected people and then fleeing to Louisiana, Mexico and, finally, Cuba" (Sack, 1998, p. A2). The final nail in the coffin for Woodham came with the testimony of a student who suggested that the leader of the cult, Grant Boyette, was a self-proclaimed satanist, with an "obsessive fascination" with Adolf Hitler.

Woodham was perhaps the best example of one of the boys being positioned as sick and deviant. He was identified as an outcast that wrote manifestos about murder, was associated with a cult-like group that plotted to take over the school, and was potentially a satanist himself. Add to this the fact that he stabbed his mother to death in her bed allegedly because she and his father were getting a divorce. Woodham was not someone who "just snapped" so instead he must be positioned as someone on the margins of society. He was not a "regular" teenager, so blame for his actions largely rested with him. He was accountable, while others may not have been.

More sympathetic coverage was given to Carneal, Johnson and Golden. Interestingly, these three boys were younger than Kinkel and Woodham, and more of an attempt was made to show how they had snapped or lost control. For them, the acts of violence did not indicate a completely lost soul or evil person, but someone who had made a terrible mistake, who now showed remorse. This portrayal was not absolute however, as some media coverage suggested that the boys were sick and deviant, not as a result of individual choice, but as a result of the culture surrounding them. I examine each claim in turn.

Primary coverage of Carneal was more sympathetic than that of Kinkel and Woodham. While one news account mentioned that he had an interest in the occult, most accounts focused on the anger he felt, his perceived lack of control, and the bullying and teasing he endured. For example, in the article on school bullies, Carneal's high school principal, Bill Bond, was quoted as saying "Carneal felt powerless, and students described him as small and emotionally immature" (Rhodes, 1998, p. 16). Bond also stated that Carneal had "just struck out in anger at the world." Other reports that talked about the killings suggested that teenagers today (such as Carneal) have enormous pressures on them, which can become intense, perhaps causing them to do the wrong thing. After being subdued, and in questioning with the police, it was indicated that "he [Carneal] began to cry…He really seemed sorry for what he did. He told us it wasn't out of revenge or anything like that. He just said he doesn't know why he did it" (Hewitt, Dampier, Klise and Williams, 1998, p. 42). This picture of Carneal suggested someone who lost control, and was coming back in control after the event. His inability to recall what he had done or why he had done it led us to believe he was in some way not responsible for his actions.

Yet, even though some accounts seemed to position Carneal as someone who had snapped, other accounts suggested that he was clearly in control of his actions. In the same article that mentioned his questioning by the police, the statement was made that "his lethal rampage…was no sudden impulse." The article recounted how he planned his attack, stolen the guns he needed, and even warned a friend the day before that "something big is going to happen." Other news accounts supported this story, saying that Carneal deliberately planned and executed his attack.

Johnson and Golden received much the same treatment. In a news package dealing with the Westside Middle School re-opening, CNN reported that Mitchell Johnson's attorney was trying to have the boys psychologically evaluated, "to see if they knew what they were doing" (Kelley, Flock, Zewe, 1998). The implication here was that they did *not* know what they were doing, and therefore were not in control of their actions. Additionally, an article in the *Times Picayune* quoted a Jonesboro educator as saying "we have angry kids who don't know how to express anger in a positive way" (Epstein and Zaneski, 1998, p. A1). The assumption was that Johnson and Golden were simply "acting out" and could not control their anger. In another article, Andrew Golden's grandfather was quoted as saying "he is very shocked. He just cries and cries. He says he remembers shooting at a car and then the rest is blank" (Morris, 1998, p. 1). Here, Golden was also shown to be unable to remember the incident, calling into question how in control of the situation he was.

However, as with Carneal, another view of Johnson and Golden emerged, as in control of their actions, as being fully aware of what they were doing. As one article detailed, Golden and Johnson attempted to use a torch and hammer to force open a gun cabinet in Andrew's house. "When this failed, the boys took three pistols and dozens of rounds of ammunition that were not locked up and drove in a van to Mr. Golden's [Andrew's grandfather's] house. There they helped themselves to the warden's weapons collection, including four more pistols, three rifles and 300 rounds of ammunition" (Morris, 1998, p. 1). This was a pair that planned their activities. They knew what they were going to do, and prepared for it. This view, like the one of Carneal, challenged the belief that these boys were not in control of their actions. Had they snapped? Or had they been exercising control? Here the news accounts provided us with an ambivalent answer, unsure themselves as to what was the truth. They could not ignore the evidence that Carneal, Johnson and Golden all planned these events in a methodical manner, seeming to indicate that they knew what they were doing, yet they seemed driven to determine whether the boys had "snapped" after all. This positioning was supported by the boys' reactions to their crimes, and their subsequent legal defenses, all trying to show that they were not, if at least temporarily, in control of their actions. In doing this, the news accounts gave credence to the belief that it is only when boys are sick and deviant, or when they snap, that things go wrong. Normal boys and men do not engage in this type of behavior.

Finding fault, Placing blame: What did the media emphasize?

As I have shown, the media attempted to position the boys who killed as outside of the norm, either permanently or temporarily. Yet, many other explanations were given for why these crimes were committed. In their analyses, various news outlets attempted to explain the events under scrutiny and provided some sort of rationale for them. This function is in line with the normal routines of news gathering, which tries to include the "why" just as much as the "who, what, where and when." In addition, identification and isolation of the proper "why" could potentially prevent such events from happening again.

In this section I examine how the media tried to explain the killings. I examine the dominant themes they employed, both implicitly and explicitly. Further, I argue that these frames have problems of their own, not always taken into account by the news media. Finally, I offer an explanation for the killings based on hooks' theorizing of power and control that the news media did *not* employ, or actively rejected. I argue that this approach gives us a better understanding of the killings, and the potential motivations behind them.

While the four killing sprees occurred at different times and places, the media increasingly sought to link all four (and other recent shootings), and find common denominators among them. They were quite successful in doing so, as all four occurred in rural areas, involved guns, young boys as killers, small-towns, and to some extent, religion and girlfriend troubles. Not all of these factors were equally important in subsequent analyses, however. Most often, issues of gun control and gun violence, lax parenting, and violence in our larger culture were invoked and subjected to scrutiny.[4]

The issue of lack of parental control was seen most clearly in the Johnson and Golden killings. This was likely because these boys were the youngest of the killers, and therefore the ones most likely to still be influenced and under the control of their parents as well as extended family. As an article in the *Times-Picayune* explained, "Most people in Jonesboro blame a lack of parental control for the youthful violence" (Epstein and Zaneski, 1998, p. A1). In an interview with ABC's 20/20, Mitchell Johnson's mother, Gretchen Woodward, is repeatedly questioned by reporter John Quinones about her role in raising her son and failing to predict his actions. Quinones began with "Mrs. Woodward, the whole world is asking why, how could this boy that you describe as sweet and charming turn into an accused mass killer?" The reporter continued with this line of questioning, implicitly suggesting that either Woodward had no idea what her son was like, or was so incompetent she couldn't have helped him if she had wanted to. Later on Quinones asked "His friends have said that he was having girl problems, maybe he needed to talk. Where were you when he was going through this?" When Woodward replied that she was at home, but that perhaps her son didn't want to talk to his mother about such a problem, Quinones followed up with "But you are his mother. Were there any warning signs that something was wrong?" Again, the onus was on Woodward for failing to catch her son's behavior before it went out of control. The blame Woodward may have shared in this event is not the issue, however. The issue was where the news media sought to find responsibility for the boys' actions—and they found some of it in the boys' parents.

This line of reasoning, that blame lay with the parents, was also found to some extent in the Woodham killings, where a possible explanation for the stabbing death of Luke's mother could be found in the rationale that his parents were getting a divorce. While not directly implied, it is suggested that these parents were too caught up in their own problems to see their son's problems, and therefore did not control his behavior as they should. It is also curious to note that Woodham stabbed his mother, and Johnson's mother was the one interviewed and therefore symbolically "blamed" for her son's actions. Why were the fathers not equally culpable or punished?

Another factor considered in news analyses of the killings was the violence in our culture as a whole. This factor was linked to violence in the media and children's exposure to this violence. As one editorial writer lamented; before the bodies of those killed in the Johnson and Golden shootings had even cooled, a "shrink" appearing on his local news station speculated that the boys who killed may have been under the influence of the TV cartoon "South Park." Further, the same writer noted that Arkansas Governor Mike Huckabee had spoken of a "culture where these children are exposed to tens of thousand of murders on television and movies" (Rich, 1998, p. 15). One of Mitchell Johnson's teachers, Debbie Pelley, went so far as to travel to Washington to "tell her story" to a Senate Commerce Committee. She said that "Mitchell had become a fan of gangsta rap music in the months before the shootings" and she also mentioned that Kinkel and Wurst were fans of the shock rocker Marilyn Manson (Gross, 1998). When asked to comment on the charge, Manson suggested "I think if you try and blame art, it's as absurd as blaming Shakespeare" (Gross, 1998).

Other accounts that stressed the factor of violence in our culture suggested that the shootings likely occurred because "every kid spouts off now and then…what's different now is the accessibility children have to weapons, to drugs, to the kinds of things that can do real harm to themselves or someone else" (Bowles, 1998, p. 9A). Our culture was seen as more permissive, more lax in keeping children away from dangerous influences. Another article suggested numerous factors in what leads kids to crime, with media violence being one of these factors: "one of the major changes in the past 10 years is the climate of violence on television and video games that kids are brought up with—violence that is marketed to children as exciting and glamorous and fun…And children often view that violence without any parental supervision or input" (O'Mahony, 1998, p. 4). Again, media violence and our violent culture are suggested as factors, and they also loop back to parental involvement, which could have conceivably intervened in kids' understandings of this violence.

One other factor that was linked to the first three shootings was a mixture of several factors, but seen as one—Southern culture. However, with the Kinkel killings in Oregon, this factor could no longer stand, and was discarded, but elements of it remained. Southern culture was originally used to talk about guns and "gun culture," the particular "code of honor" prevalent in the South, the importance of family and religion, as well as a way to distinguish the crimes from those of other child criminals. When the Southern aspect could no longer be a connecting factor, stories instead focused on the rural nature of the crimes, anger and depression as mental health problems, and gun culture to some degree.

One of the ways this was done was through the framing of the killings as "how could it happen in a nice small town like this?" which differed sharply from similar inner-city tragedies, where the context was often the "inherent depravity of the urban environment and its inhabitants" (Applebome, 1998, p. 1). As this editorial itself suggested, this view of the violence was racialized. The inner city was associated with crime and minorities, while rural culture was associated with safety and whites. By suggesting that youth crime has always been associated with the inner city, and the (stereotypical) knowledge that most residents of the inner city are minorities, the assumption has been made that crime is a minority problem, not a white problem. It should not be an issue for nice—read white—communities. Additionally, as an editorial in the *Sacramento Bee* (reprinted from *The Boston Globe*) pointed out, descriptions used to describe the boys often used words such as "skinny," "slight," "diminutive," "nerd," and "intelligent but isolated (Dowdy, 1998, p.FO1). These descriptions contrast markedly with those normally used to describe young African-American and Latino killers in big cities. The editorial suggests that the news media create "vastly different images for young white criminals and for youths of color" and this particular practice is "thinly veiled racial coding" (Dowdy, 1998). So while rural communities (and even national news outlets) are horrified by the crimes committed by these boys, they are still not seen as deviant to the degree that minority youths are. Their violence is still that of a human being, still worthy of redemption. While attempting to make this connection between the crimes, therefore, the news accounts perpetuate racist accounts of crime and "proper" criminals.

Two articles had titles that explicitly addressed the Southern nature of the first three events: "Trinity of Faith, Firearms, Family Frame Town's Grief; Tragedy: That Jonesboro's Sadness Over Shooting Deaths Has Not Melted Into Anger Reflects Enduring Local Values" and "Southern Gun Culture Blamed For Explosion of School Killings; Learning How to Use Weapons A Rite of Passage." Both of these articles attempted to place the killings in the context of the South, where "guns, God and family" were said to be more important than in other areas of the country. Guns in particular were linked to the Southern way of life. Statistics were offered that showed that Southerners have more guns than Northerners, and young children were taught how to use guns, and "age is gauged by the gauge of your latest weapon" (Moehringer, 1998, p. 1). This article went on to say that "so beloved is hunting in Jonesboro that many ask the Goodons to adorn their headstones and footstones with engravings of guns." This linking of guns and the South also extended to the Woodham and Corneal killings, as they too were in the South, and both boys easily gained access to firearms. The South was also used to explain why the boys perhaps resorted to killing people: "there is a tendency in the South to respond to challenge through individual direct action—no matter how violent and troubling—rather than lawsuits or grievance procedures" (Epstein and Zaneski, 1998, p. A1). Further, James Alan Fox, dean of the College of Criminal Justice at Northeastern University was quoted as saying "the use of those guns, of violence, is more seen as an acceptable way to solve problems—more manly—than in other parts of the country." The violence was explained through the particular culture of the boys involved. They were in the South, guns were readily available in the South, and people often worked out their "problems" in violent gun-related ways in the South. While perhaps a valid explanation, this conclusion also perpetuated certain stereotypes about people in the South. Are all Southerners 'gun-totin, violent, and easily offended'? If this is the case, then perhaps there was no solution to this problem, as it appeared to be an unchanging element of Southern culture.

However, this explanation, Southern culture, fell away after the Kinkel killings. Instead, stories focused on the individual boys' obsession with guns and shooting, pointing out how all had relatively easy access to firearms. Articles that dealt with this often called for stricter control of firearms and children's access to them, if not stricter access for all Americans. Another factor briefly examined was the mental health of the boys involved. Problems such as depression, attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder, and sexual abuse were all mentioned in connection with boys and violence, suggesting that psychological problems might have been a factor as well (Wong, 1998). However, these accounts generally only served to reinforce the notion that the particular boys who committed these crimes were truly sick, indeed. These stories gave accounts "proving" the pathological nature of the criminals, thus individualizing and containing the problem.

What was left out?

As I have argued, news accounts of the four shooting sprees failed to take into account the gendered nature of the crime, as well as issues of power and control, which are central to feminist theories of violence against women and violence in general. While each of the four killing sprees could have been at least partly explained through this frame, major news analyses either rejected or ignored this approach.

All four of the killings involved male killers and (largely) female victims. In two of the cases, the Woodham killings, and the Johnson and Golden killings, the boys were said to have been upset over a breakup with a girlfriend. Mitchell Johnson told friends that he was angry at being dumped by his girlfriend, and "felt the need to kill." Woodham's distress over his parent's divorce may have partly explained why he stabbed his mother to death, but does not explain why only she was targeted. Carneal apparently had an unrequited crush on one of the girls he shot, and while he reportedly told police that he didn't have anything against his particular victims, "three of his shots were aimed" (Sisco, 1998, p. 3). Finally, a *Time* account speculated that "both Kip and Michael [Carneal] may have resented their accomplished and popular older sisters" (Cloud, 1998, p. 60). While various press accounts have suggested that most of the targets in the shootings were random, the question must be asked, why was it that mostly girls and women were killed? Why was "being dumped" considered one factor in the boys' motivations, but not an important enough motivation for the news to analyze in any detail?

Some of the reasons for this may lie in the fact that these boys were in fact boys. Emphasis was placed in all four events on the notion that this was still a child committing the crimes. Many articles questioned the maturity of the boys, asking whether they even understood the finality of their actions. And we still don't think of children or boys in relation to domestic violence or rape. However, this lack of association is mistaken, as statistics admit. Dating violence is on the rise, and it is estimated that one in eight girls will experience abuse in a relationship during high school (Solin, 1996).

While it was not mentioned what types of relationships these boys had with their girlfriends before their relationships ended (although Woodham allegedly felt "crushed" by the breakup with Christina Menefee), their resulting violence against them and others should have been cast as what it was—violence against women. While this violence also targeted other "innocent" victims, it was a response made by the boys to problems in their lives concerning women and girls, and they struck back with violence.

While the gendered nature of the violence was not addressed by the press with any extended attention, comments made in articles surrounding the Johnson and Golden killings, and a few letters to the editor and guest editorials helped to make this link more explicit, even without the active intervention of the news media. For example, in trying to explain the prevalence of guns in Jonesboro, it was stated that "in the rural South… guns—and their passage between father and son—are as much a part of the cultural landscape as Cuban coffee in Miami" (Epstein and Zaneski, 1998, p. A1). And further, "the use of those guns, of violence, is more seen as an acceptable way to solve problems—more manly—than in other parts of the country." While not actively taken up in news analysis, these statements called into account the ungendered picture of the crimes put forward by the news media. Indeed, many of the reports made reference to "teen violence" "kiddie killers" and "alienated adolescents" as if genderless people had committed these crimes. This was not the case with accounts of the victims who were killed, who were often and prominently identified as girls and women. While news analysts tried to delve into the myriad possibilities of why these killings occurred, they seemed to be obscuring their own understandings as they look at "teens" and "kids" instead of boys and men, capable of killing girls and women.[5]

The few accounts appearing in the news that did deal with the gendered nature of the crime were mostly letters to the editor and guest editorials, often written by domestic violence shelter workers and other feminist activists. For example, a letter in the *Austin American-Statesman* stated "the most prevalent form of violent crime in America is violence against women, in the forms of sexual and domestic assault—the overwhelming majority of which are committed by husbands, boyfriends, exes and dates. What coverage of this "story" lacks is an accurate focus on the gendered nature of the crime that is a reflection of the most perpetrated crime among teens and adults: sexual violence" (Bullard and Spivey, 1998). In a guest editorial in the *Times-Picayune*, Erika Hewitt, a member of the National Organization for Women, wrote "the media continue to identify the four girls only as "students," which obscures the fact that Johnson fully intended to massacre only girls" (Hewitt, 1998). These letters and a few others like them suggest a connection that the mainstream media did not elaborate on.

Beyond letters and editorials, my search found only three actual news stories that dealt with the gendered nature of the crimes. However, one of these was a listing of various "theories" of the killings found on the Internet (sexism was listed along with access to guns, bizarre connections, and capitalism), another was linked to a gender stereotypes workshop held at a local (Massachusetts) high school, and the final one was contradicted at the end by a source claiming the "gendered violence" explanation was just too simple. Thus, even as news accounts hinted at this potential explanation (the headline of the *Time* article reads "Of Arms and the Boy" with the first four words in black and the word "boy" in red, hinting at a potential gendered explanation), they turned away from or ignored fuller explanations of this potential theory.

Finally, the news accounts did not spend as much time as they could have in talking about issues of power and control, and how they may have been central to these killings. However, some news accounts attempted to tackle this topic. In an article titled "When you're so angry you could just explode" much attention is given to anger, and how negatively it is expressed. The article states "clients [in a violence reduction program] often arrive thinking that anger and aggression are the best options to maintain control of their situations and other people" (Eveld, 1998, p.E5). And in another article on how violent kids often start by abusing animals, a source is quoted as saying "these individuals already are isolated, weak and powerless, and feel the need to establish authority and control" (Larson, 1998, p. A7).

By taking control of situations, by killing others before they continued to degrade you, the boys' killing sprees were clearly about access to violence and exercising that violence to maintain power and control. Luke Woodham killed his mother, ex-girlfriend and one other person because he felt he had to "spit back" at a society, including girls and women, that had spit on him. Michael Carneal felt remorselessly picked on, so fought back to regain control of his situation. And Mitchell Johnson, upset at being dumped, tried to regain control of his situation by exercising power in a way he understood—through gunfire. As I have demonstrated, they were all acting out the "manly" way to control a situation, which in feminist theoretical conceptions, includes controlling women and others. As bell hooks explains, these incidents are about coercive control and claims to power. All of these boys were trying to control their situation, to turn the tables and be the controller instead of the controlled. And until we reconceptualize what power is and how it can be productively utilized, incidents like this may continue to occur, as all members of society see violence as an acceptable means to gaining control and power.

All of these incidents then point to the need to better understand how control, violence and power and interrelated in American society. I have argued that feminist theory on violence against women, especially as it conceptualizes issues of power and control in all relationships, could be fruitfully applied to studying news reports of violence. This case study has demonstrated how gender continues to be a salient factor in analysis of crime news. But even more far-reaching is its assertion of how feminist theory can contribute to understanding news, crime news, and the issues that underlie them. If feminist theory is truly to be the transformative agent that it should be, it must be more widely understood and applied, and this broader understanding of feminist theories of violence should help to advance that goal.

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[1] In addition to these shootings, others have occurred, but have not received sustained national attention. In February 1996 in Moses Lake, Washington, Barry Loukaitis burst into a classroom and fatally shot an algebra teacher and two students. A year later in Bethel, Alaska, 16-year-old Evan Ramsey opened fire with a shotgun in a common area at his high school, killing the principal and a student. In April of 1998, 14-year-old Andrew Wurst shot a science teacher to death and wounded three others at a graduation dance in Edinboro, Pennsylvania, and in May 1998 18-year-old Jacob Davis allegedly opened fire in a parking lot at Lincoln County High School in Fayetteville, Tennessee, killing a classmate who was dating his ex-girlfriend.

[2] In the Arkansas shootings, four girls and a female teacher were killed, while unnamed others were injured. In the Mississippi shootings, Woodham stabbed and killed his mother, as well as shooting and killing two students, including his ex-girlfriend and wounding seven others. Kip Kinkel killed his mother as well as his father and two students. Finally, Michael Carneal allegedly took aim specifically at the three female students he killed. He also wounded five others.

[3] These statistics were taken from Jones (1994), the National Woman Abuse Prevention Project (online, 1993) and a handout from the Domestic Violence Intervention Project, Iowa City, Iowa (1997).

[4] Interestingly, before the Kinkel killings, the analyses often focused on Southern culture and its possible influences. Once Kinkel allegedly killed four people in Oregon, these references disappeared immediately, often replaced by mention of the "rural nature" of the crimes. No mention was made that it was perhaps *not* Southern culture that was implicated.

[5] It is interesting to note that while many analysts went to great lengths to understand "kids who kill" they also unproblematically accepted the fact that these children were likely going to be prosecuted as adults for their crimes. If these boys were to be considered as adults, the argument for treating their crimes as violence against women is made even more apparent and more readily accepted.

Media Coverage of Women's Sports:
Perspectives of Female Journalists and Athletes in the United States and Norway

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Media Coverage of Women's Sports:

Perspectives of Female Journalists and Athletes in the United States and Norway

This paper examines how female journalists and athletes feel about media coverage of women's sports, focusing in particular on newspapers in the United States and Norway. Using a critical theoretical framework, this preliminary research explores how patriarchal power structures and values within mass media and sports shape portrayal of female athletes. Interviews with female ski racers and female sports journalists reveal that they believe female athletes receive less sports-related coverage in newspapers than do male athletes, and that newspapers view male athletes as more important.

Introduction

Most competitive athletes and the sports organizations in which they are involved are highly dependent on mass media coverage. Today, female athletes are also finding themselves more in the limelight, both as they receive greater acceptance as athletes and as corporations and organizations find ways to create profits from the commodification of female athletes.

For female athletes, who are greatly increasing their participation numbers and level of achievement in sports, it is important to become visible in the mass media for a variety of reasons: First, media coverage of sports increases the incentive for economic and equipment sponsors to support a variety of women's sports and teams. Secondly, media coverage of women's sports helps increase the general public interest in and knowledge of these sports, teams and the individual athletes and thereby create interest among the public to buy tickets to women's sports events. Finally, media coverage of sports helps create an interest for sports among girls, encourages these girls to become active in sports, and helps increase the pool of prospective athletic "recruits" for sports (particularly the sports the youngsters see in the media).

However, the nature of the media's portrayal of women in sports also plays a part in affecting the dominant view of these female athletes, as well as the view of women in general. For these reasons it is important to look at the ways in which the media cover female athletes and sports activities for women. In addition, my personal experiences as a female athlete, as a coach for women's and men's alpine skiing and as a sports journalist, further strengthen this impression.

The event that initiated this study was the newspaper coverage by a large Denver daily newspaper of the Alpine World Championships in February 1997 and in particular the coverage of alpine skier Hilary Lindh's World Championship downhill victory the day after the event. In contrast to the coverage of Lindh's victory, Atle Skaardal, a Norwegian male athlete who won his second consecutive men's super-G World Championship title in 1997, received more coverage in a major *U.S.* daily newspaper than did long-time U.S. Ski Team member Hilary Lindh when she won the World Championship title in the women's downhill. Also, it appeared that the male skiers generally received more coverage than did female skiers during these championships.

This paper examines questions regarding media coverage of female athletes, focusing specifically on daily newspapers in the United States and Norway. The research question for this preliminary study asks: "How is the media coverage of female athletes perceived by the athletes themselves and the female journalists who cover them?" In analyzing these issues using critical theory, a patriarchal framework in media coverage of sports is revealed, a framework that affects both power structures and values within mass media and sports. Through interviews with four women, two ski racers and two sports journalists, I have found that these women feel that female athletes generally receive less sports-related coverage in the newspaper media than do male athletes, and that the newspapers seem to view the male athletes as more important, as the coverage of male sports results and events usually are covered more in depth and more often. The women interviewed also find that the lack and nature of newspaper coverage of female athletes have negative impacts in financial terms (income from sponsors and advertisers).

Women's Participation in Sports in the United States and Norway

Since the 1970s and 80s, there has been an explosion in women's involvement in sports, due in great part to the women's movement.

In the U.S., the passage of Title IX[1] in 1972 made sports more "available" to women. "On the surface, the fact that more females are engaged in sport and physical activity than at any other period in American history suggests that at long last women have achieved equal opportunity in sport. It would seem that society finally has accepted women's physicality and athleticism. Today approximately 2 million young women participate in interscholastic sports, compared with 300,000 before the passage of Title IX. More than one-third of all intercollegiate athletes are female, compared with 15% prior to Title IX" (Greendorfer, 1993, p. 3).

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[1] "Title IX, an extension of civil rights legislation, is part of the Education Amendments Act of 1972, which states: 'No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.' Interestingly, only 4% of the text of Title IX deals with athletics, yet the majority of comments and cases concerning Title IX have focused on sport" (Greendorfer, 1993, p. 13).

However, even though more women today participate in sports, there are questions to be raised regarding the true reasons for women's increased involvement in sports. "The amount and nature of change is suspect, however, because participation figures may be misleading. The significant question is whether or not a substantive shift in underlying cultural values and ideological beliefs has occurred. Alternatively, we should ask whether forced legislation, responsible for the increase in participation, has deceived us into believing that sport is no longer a male preserve steeped in a system of male values and male traditions" (Greendorfer, 1993, p. 3).

In Norway in the 1970s and 1980s, much of the positive change in attitudes regarding women's sports can be attributed to the achievements of Norwegian female athletes who started becoming visible at that time, especially long-distance runner Grete Waitz – a nine-time winner of the New York City Marathon.[2] In a recent *Rocky Mountain News* interview, Waitz said, "In Norway, life is movement. By saying 'yes' to life, you say 'yes' to movement" (Young, 1998). Waitz' athletic accomplishments are a major reason why the acceptance and respect for female athletes increased in the Norwegian media and the society as a whole.

Waitz, who toured the United States in the winter/spring of 1998 to promote Avon's run/walk for women, a global all-women series, also opened people's eyes in the U.S. during the years in which she competed internationally.[3] In his book *GRETE WAITZ – I det lange løp* (1988) Jan Hedenstad describes the reactions to Waitz' accomplishments:

> "Words like 'The World's Greatest Female Distance Runner' – 'Queen of the Roads' – "The Unbeatable Grete' – are seen throughout American [U.S.] magazines... Grete's phenomenal marathon race in New York in 1979 led to editorial coverage in the *New York Times*.
>
> In the 1979 New York Marathon, Grete beat almost 11,000 male competitors. Only 68 men ran faster than she did....

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[2] Grete Waitz' accomplishments and importance for female athletes in the international sports community is honored by a statue in Oslo, Norway. She has also been inducted into the New York Sports Hall of Fame. She currently works as a UN ambassador for Norway and is a member of the athletes' council for the International Olympic Committee.

[3] Waitz ran internationally for 20 years, up until 1990 (Young, 1998).

> Grete proved through her running that it is not harmful to women to run marathons. She made physiologists and researchers open their eyes and conduct research. Today some of them even claim that if the distance [to be run] is long enough, the women will defeat the men" (Hedenstad, 1988)[4].

In 1984, Waitz initiated an annual women's run/walk in Oslo, Norway, which is named after her, and which aims to bring women together and encourage them to engage in physical activities. More than 40,000 women[5] travel to Oslo from all of Norway in June every year to participate in *Grete Waitz Løpet* (The Grete Waitz Run). And thousands more would like to take part, but the organizers and the streets of Oslo cannot take on more participants.[6] For hours, waves of cheerful women of all ages – running, walking, some pushing young girls in strollers – flow through the streets of downtown Oslo, while yet other thousands of people – mostly men – frame the course and applaud and cheer for the participants.

During the years when Waitz dominated international long-distance running, Norwegian female cross-country skiers enjoyed higher popularity in Norway than did the male cross-country skiers, much due to the women's strong international results. Their healthy, natural and friendly appearances also helped increase the public's appreciation of female athletes – while possibly reinforcing the preferred stereotype of women as pleasing and non-threatening.

The Role of Newspaper Sports Coverage

The newspaper sports section is more widely read than any other section of the newspaper (Creedon, 1994). Therefore, the information included in (or excluded from) newspaper sports pages is an important influence on how the public views sports and athletes – including female athletes.

Newspaper editors have long been aware of the strong tie between readership and sports coverage. For example, in 1950, legendary Norwegian newspaper personality Oskar

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[4] Translated from Norwegian by Bente Bjørnsen for use in this paper.

[5] The number of participants in this all-women event equals 1% of Norway's total population (including men and women of all ages) of 4.3 million people.

[6] Applications for participation in *Grete Waitz Løpet* are accepted on a first-come first-served basis.

Hasselknippe took over as the editor in chief for the then small newspaper *Verdens Gang* (*VG*).[7] Hasselknippe wanted to increase the readership of the daily newspaper, and came up with his own philosophy: Every day, there should be one sports note on the *first page* of the paper, pointing the readers to a sports story inside. This is seen by many as one of the reasons *VG* has increased its popularity to become Norway's most widely-read daily newspaper and the newspaper with the second-highest publication figures in Scandinavia.[8] *VG*'s site on the World Wide Web also has become an important reference tool for Norwegian sports-buffs around the world.

Newspapers in the United States have also increased circulation due to their extensive sports coverage. One of these papers is *USA Today*, in which sports from around the nation receive detailed daily coverage and is an important factor in the paper's success. Likewise, one of the major reasons for the popularity of the European edition of *USA Today* is its extensive coverage of U.S. sports.

In addition, there are close ties between newspapers and major sports teams, as they create an audience for each other. These ties affect the extent to which newspapers cover various sports, and the ways in which they cover these sports and their athletes. (Koppett, 1981). In the long run, it also affects the acceptance (or lack there of) of women's major sports teams, ticket sales and sponsor contracts.

Theoretical Framework

Critical theory examines existing power structures, as well as the ideology and values supported by those in power. When analyzing mass communication through the critical approach, hegemony and commodification emerge as important concepts (McQuail, 1994, pp. 98-100). The concept of hegemony can be tied in with the existing power structure, where unwritten ruling ideas infiltrate the society and make the existing power structure and values seem natural and unnecessary to change. Also, "hegemony tends to define unacceptable opposition to the status quo as dissident and deviant" (McQuail, 1994, p. 99). When looking at the concept of cultural commodification, questions arise regarding which ways parts of our culture (including sports) are commodified and what effects this has on culture/sports, the audience and the participants. For example, in which ways are athletes "sold" in the media and through advertisements to create interest for their sports and for the various products they endorse? Furthermore, on what grounds are athletes chosen for this "commodification," and, finally, what effects does the commodification of athletes have on the audiences' impression of athletes and their sports.

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[7] Oskar Hasselknippe stayed on as *VG*'s editor in chief from 1950-74.

[8] Readers cannot subscribe to *VG*, but they can buy the newspaper almost anywhere around the country, including from boats along the coast during vacation time every summer.

The critical approach reveals a patriarchal framework of media coverage of women's sports. Within the patriarchal framework, a number of theoretical themes emerge:

1. There is a close connection between sports and the mass media, which helps uphold the male power in the media and sports.
2. Men hold the power in both the media and sports.
3. The media consider male athletes more important than female athletes, much due to the "men-are-best" syndrome, as reflected in their coverage.
4. Dominant cultural views of women outside sports determine the way in which women are portrayed by the media as successful athletes.

Literature Review

1. There is a close connection between sports and the mass media, which helps uphold the male power in media and sports.

There are several reasons why there is a close connection between sports and the mass media. "The sport establishment's activities suit the purposes of other and larger forces, and that community of interests is what accounts for the development of commercial sports and also for its resistance to significant change. Newspaper publishers and politicians got on the sports bandwagon early … because it proved to be such an excellent vehicle for their own use"

(Koppett, 1981, pp. 55-56). Major sports teams and sporting events are guaranteed newsmakers, often on a daily basis. Many people are interested in sports and purchase newspapers to receive results, background information and event previews regarding their favorite teams or athletes. Newspaper journalists, in turn, can create interest for future sports events, and thereby ensure continued interest in their newspaper and its sports coverage.

> . The more people there are who care about the game, the larger the potential reading audience; and the larger the number of readers, the greater the number of potential ticket buyers. This mutual-aid process has been going on for well over a century and is as strong as ever. The presence of a fully commercialized team in a community helps the local papers, and no team can exist without regular exposure in the local papers.... Newspapers frequently contain strong criticism of a team's management or performance, but never any opposition to its existence. And there are many bitter arguments between a team's management and the press, but never a situation where the management bars the press from attending (and therefore writing about) the events (Koppett, 1981, pp. 56-57).

The mutual dependency between the media and sports teams is evident. Even though Koppett commented specifically on the situation in the U.S., the same holds true in Norway. The sports teams need both the media coverage and the on-site audience, so that the teams' equipment and monetary sponsors receive exposure to an audience.

The importance of newspapers in the world of sports is probably surpassed by few – if any – other media or institutions, as they supply basic information that fans cannot get from any other media outlets. "Today, according to Sabo and Jansen (1992), 'the sports section of the daily paper is the most widely-read section of major metropolitan newspapers, and more ink is devoted to sports than any other topic, including national and international news' (p. 170). Moreover, 64% of women are regular sport page readers, compared with 85% if men (Simmons, 1991)," (Creedon, 1994, p. 96). In addition, the number of female participants in sports has increased drastically in the past decades, to a level where one third of all U.S. girls participate in high school sports (Whiteside, 1997). Therefore, an apparent question is: "What values justify devoting less than 5% of a newspaper sports page to women's sports?" (Creedon, 1994, p. 6).

As a result of the close ties between the media and sports described above, one can assume that this close connection reinforces the male power structure both in the media and in sports.

2. Men hold the power in both the media and sports.[9]

In the media, there is a considerably higher number of male reporters and staff than of women, as numbers from Norway and the U.S. will show.

In Norway, the overall number of media outlets, and thereby the overall number of sports journalists, is of course a lot less than that in the U.S., due to Norway's smaller population and geographic area. According to Arne Roer in *Norske Sportsjournalisters Forbund* (the Association for Norwegian Sports Journalists), only two of Norway's newspapers currently employ women as sports editors[10] (Roer, 1997). The only Norwegian organization specifically designed for sports journalists, *Norges Sportsjournalisters Forbund*, has approximately 460 members (Roer, 1997). No official breakdown of membership by gender is available, but, according to Roer's estimate, "there are 15-20 women [members], maximum 20," (Roer, 1997). Seven of the female members work in broadcasting; six in NRK-TV and one in NRK-radio[11] The remaining (approximately) 8-13 female members of the association work for the print media. One of them is Mette Bugge of *Aftenposten*, a well-known female sports writer. She used to be one of the board members for the association. Currently, there are no female members on the board, which is only a "coincidence," according to Roer.

In the U.S., the number of female sports journalists is increasing at a slow rate. According to the "Associated Press Estimate" (1975), there were only about 25 female sportswriters and five women involved in sportscasting on radio and television in the U.S. in the early 1970s. These numbers had quadrupled by 1975. However, according to a study by

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[9] Please keep in mind that throughout this paper, I focus my attention mainly on newspapers when I speak of the media.

[10] Monica Grimstad, *Fedrelandsvennen* in Kristiansand and Kari Nilsen, *Øvre/Indre Smaalendene* in Askim.

[11] NRK: Norsk Rikskringkasting (the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation, partially financed by the Norwegian government and Norway's largest broadcasting institution).

Eberhard and Myers (1988), only 63% of the 109 largest daily newspapers in the U.S. employed women as sports reporters. "Moreover, of the 69 newspapers in the study that did employ women sports reporters, only 9% (96) of the estimated 1,061 sports department employees were female. The number of women working as sports columnists or in management ranks is minuscule." (Creedon, 1994, p. 99). There are a handful of exceptions, however, such as the Associated Press naming Terry Taylor as its sports editor in 1992. In addition, organizations such as the Association for Women in the Sports Media have been formed to support, retain and recruit female sports journalists (Creedon, 1994).

The trends of male domination in sports journalism are also reflected in statistics for journalism education. Despite increasing numbers of women receiving formal journalism education – women have made up over 50% of all journalism students in the U.S. since 1977 (Beasley, 1993, p. 118)[12] – male journalists still dominate the newspaper environment. Already in college, women tend to choose journalism programs other than news-editorial to a greater degree than men do, and tend to shy away from the male-dominated news-rooms (Beasley, 1993). A Dow Jones Newspaper Fund/Gallup Survey of 1983 journalism graduates, in which women represented 64.1% of the 17,670 graduates surveyed, found that the women were less likely than male graduates to locate news editorial jobs (only 11.8% of the women did so). In addition, only 6.9% of the women reported jobs on daily papers and 14.2% of the women continued to seek media-related work six months after graduating compared to 11.8% for the total group (Beasley, 1993, p. 122). As female journalism graduates stay away from – or encounter difficulties getting into – newspaper positions, the male domination of the newspaper industry is likely to continue in the future.

In a 1984 roundtable discussion, Marcia Slacum Greene, a reporter for *The Washington Post*, pointed out that "the 1983 survey from the ASNE [American Society of Newspaper Editors] shows that of the major newspapers in the country in terms of editors there are 93 women and

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[12] To this date, it has been more common in Norway that journalists receive their journalistic training "on the job" than through formal journalism education. Numbers regarding male and female journalism students in Norway were therefore not available when writing this paper.

1,027 men. ... And the bottom line is there [are] 89.4 percent men compared to 10.6 percent of women in top management. I don't think that's going to change overnight" (Beasley, 1993, p. 125). Jean Gaddy Wilson of the University of Missouri School of Journalism has also predicted a slow increase in women's influence in newspaper journalism: " 'Women are creeping ever so slowly toward the year 2055 when projections indicate they will attain levels in newspaper editorships on a par with their level in the population (53 percent).' Wilson based her projections on a report compiled from the *Editor & Publisher Yearbook* that showed less than 1% increase in directing editorships for women – from 12.4% in 1986 to 13.03% in 1987" (Beasley, 1993, pp. 130).

In the field of sports, men generally lead the organizations and most employees in decision-making positions are men, both in Norway and the U.S. This is also the case on an international level. For example, the International Olympic Committee (IOC), with its great decision-making power, has 94 committee members – only seven of whom are women. The numbers are not encouraging. However, the prospects are positive, according Anita DeFrantz, a lifetime member on the IOC and the only American woman on the committee: "Women must be allowed to move from the field of competition to the upper levels of management. ... Sport belongs to us all, and women must continue to insist on our birthright to take part in sport. If, in fact, only 5% of all available leadership positions are held by women, that means there are still 95% of them available to women" (DeFrantz, 1993, p. 191).

The gender difference in decision-making positions might affect issues discussed and decisions made in sports organizations, as argued by Gerd von der Lippe. In her study, "Barriers in female sports inside a male dominated NIF [the Norwegian Confederation of Sports]," von der Lippe found that out of three proposals presented to the NIF regarding programs that would advance women's roles in sports in Norway in the post World War II era, only one was discussed by the Board of Sports. This proposal, the organizing of physical exercise for housewives, was the one that seemed to be the weakest challenge to the current norm. "From a social perspective, physical exercise for housewives must have been considered as an idea which was widely acceptable and safely placed within the framework of activities adapted to the equal worth model and the traditional role pattern" (von der Lippe, 1986, p. 45). The other two proposals were discharged before reaching the board level, possibly because they challenged the values and interests of the decision-makers.

Furthermore, von der Lippe points out how the identity of the decision-makers can affect what decisions are made and not made:

> The political system of the western world, its institutions and organizations included, does not always work the way the pluralists thought. Some issues tend to be systematically excluded from serious consideration.
>
> According to Bachrach and Baratz ... 'non decision-making is a means by which demands for challenge in the existing allocation of benefits and privileges in the community can be suffocated before they are even voiced; or kept covert; or killed before they gain access to the relevant decisionmaking [sic.] arena (von der Lippe, 1986, p. 46).

Male-dominated committees often make decisions regarding what female athletes are capable of. Several examples are evident throughout Olympic history. For example, based on the beliefs of Baron Pierre de Coubertin (the founder of the modern Olympic Games) that women should not participate in sports, women were excluded from the first modern Olympic Games in 1896.[13]

The rules for adding sports to the Olympic Games seem fairly straightforward today. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) holds exclusive control of the program of the Olympic Games, but looks to international sports federations to propose the sports and events. Unless a sports federation supports women's sports, the IOC will not act on inclusion. Also, Rule 52 of the Olympic Charter requires that for inclusion of a sport discipline or event in the Olympic Games for women's competition, a sport must be practiced in 40 countries on three continents.

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[13] However, as times changed and women became more active in the society due to industrialization and social reforms, women were also slowly allowed into the world of sports. In the 1900 Olympic Games, women were allowed to compete in golf and tennis, and other sports were added thereafter (DeFrantz, 1993). However, the changes occurred slowly, which led some women to take action on their own. Alice Milliat of France founded the Federation Feminine Sportive de France in 1917 in response to the exclusion of women from track and field in the Olympic Games. In 1921, she founded the Federation Sportive Feminine International (FSFI), and in 1922, the FSFI conducted the first Ladies Olympic Games in Paris (DeFrantz, 1993). As the Ladies Olympic Games turned out to be a success among both participants and spectators, "the men's international governing body, the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF), became interested in absorbing the FSFI (much as the NCAA moved to take control of women's collegiate sport from the AIAW [Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women] in the late 1970s)" (DeFrantz, 1993).

For men, the requirement is 75 countries on four continents. This rule was adopted in 1991 (DeFrantz, 1993, p. 186).

In addition, male-dominated committees sometimes make decisions that might hurt female sports. One recent example occurred prior to the 1994 Winter Olympics in Lillehammer, Norway (although the initial decision eventually was overturned). Organizers decided that the men's alpine skiing downhill race was to take place on the steep and demanding Kvitfjell course, while the women's downhill race would take place on the flatter, less demanding Hafjell course. However, after competing on the Hafjell downhill course in 1993, the international field of women racers demanded that their Olympic downhill race should take place on the Kvitfjell course because the Hafjell course was too easy. The female racers felt the Olympic alpine events-organizers underestimated the competence level of the female racers. After various discussions, including a press conference called by the female skiers, the women's downhill event was moved to the Kvitfjell course for the 1994 Olympics – and the women handled the demanding course well.

However, "despite the impressive performances of female athletes in this century, women continue to see their athletic accomplishments distorted by the sporting press.... Study after study during the past 15 years has shown a clear pattern of underreporting and trivialization of women's sport by both print and electronic media" (DeFrantz, 1993, p.189).

In other words, women still do not hold the same level of power in the media and sports as men do, as discussed above. This is stated frankly and maybe somewhat bluntly in some people's view, by author Susan Fornoff: "The 'F' word in sports is not a four-letter word; it has eight. Feminism, according to sportswriter Susan Fornoff (1993) is the 'F' word in sport. Why? Simple: The four-letter word means business as usual; the eight-letter word threatens to change things" (Creedon, 1994, p. 7).

3. The media consider male athletes more important than female athletes, much due to the "men-are-best" syndrome, as reflected in their coverage.

This assertion probably holds true in most of the world, and long-time sportswriter Leonard Koppett supports this claim:

> The heavyweight division has always dominated professional boxing because it is tacitly accepted that the best heavyweight would beat all the smaller champions. (He might not, in a particular case, but we assume he would.) ...
>
> On this rock, all hopes that top women's sports can be promoted on the same level as top men's sports will founder. The Olympics, with their emphasis on measurement sports, will only solidify the awareness that the best women can't match the best men. The world record-holder at 100 meters, traditionally hailed as the world's fastest human, will always be male...
>
> In other activities yet to be designed, or not yet so popular, women may well equal male performance some day. But we have, in America, an established commercial sports scene, with its intricate alliances to the media, advertising, politics, and so forth. It will not yield its grip. The "best-in-the-world" syndrome is too vital a part of its appeal to be subverted (Koppett, 1981, pp. 212-13).

The media support this value system, as they continuously cover the "fastest, highest and longest" of the world of sports. "Fastest, highest, longest," was the "slogan" for Eurosport's TV coverage of the World Championships Track and Field in Athens, Greece, Aug. 1-10, 1997. Another example of this focus is the Olympic "slogan": Citius, Altius, Fortius.[14] During CBS' coverage of the 1998 Winter Olympics in Nagano, Japan (Jan. 7-21), these words would at times flash across the screen during various event-introductions.

However, the notion that "men are best" can be challenged by the fact that women are better than men in some sports. Grete Waitz, who has bested men in many marathon races, is a good example of a strong female athlete in a sport where women might be more physiologically equal to the male athletes than in other sports. Historically, women have also been competitive with men in Olympic events such as trap and skeet shooting. During the Olympic Games in 1988 in Seoul, South Korea, and in 1992 in Barcelona, Spain, women and men competed against each other in the skeet and trap events. In 1992, a Chinese woman, Shan Zhan, won the

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[14] The meaning of the Greek words Citius, Altius, Fortius is faster, higher, stronger (http://www.olympic.org/, 1998).

Olympic gold medal in skeet and set an Olympic record with a score of 223 points (Nicolaysen, 1997 and Bjørnsen, K., 1997).[15]

Nonetheless, some researchers argue that the values creating the impression that "men are best" are installed in humans in many cultures already during childhood (Greendorfer, 1993). The differential treatment of the sexes in child-raising practices, stemming from cultural beliefs, affects females' future involvement in sports and, very importantly, their ability to excel in sports: "Why should a father show a son how to hold, throw, and catch a ball but not teach similar skills to his daughter? … More significantly, how aware are we that by limiting opportunities in play and early motor skill development [in daughters] … we impose limits on later sport skill development?" (Greendorfer, 1993, pp. 6-7).

4. Dominant cultural views of women outside sports determine the way in which women are portrayed by the media as successful athletes.

Women are often encouraged to participate in "feminine" sports and physical activities (i.e. gymnastics, ice skating, dance, ballet), and discouraged to participate in "aggressive" and power-sports such as boxing, weightlifting, etc. With football being such a popular game in the U.S., for example, why is there not a collegiate or national football league for women? According to Greendorfer, "female participation in sports is related to core notions our society holds about gender, equality, hierarchy, and physicality" (Greendorfer, 1993, p. 13).

"Although we cannot explain exactly how parents convey gender-stereotypic perceptions of play, games, and sports to their children, or how children read the messages when boys are rewarded for developing motor skills and girls are not, by the time children reach elementary school age, they have determined for themselves that active sports are masculine and not feminine. Moreover, they perceive that masculine games and sports have a higher prestige value" (Greendorfer, 1993, p. 8).

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[15] In 1996, the Olympic shooting events were divided into separate competitions for the men and women. According to Unni Nicolaysen, vice president of the International Shooting Federation, the decision had nothing to do with Shan

There are exceptions to most "rules," however, including in the U.S. and Norway. For example, many U.S. sports fans have cheered for speed skater Bonnie Blair. Blair has large, muscular thighs from all the training required by her sport, and generally chooses to do the supposedly "unfeminine" thing (especially in the U.S.) of not wearing makeup. Despite these "unfeminine" facts, she has been a popular athlete with the Olympic-sport viewing audience in the U.S. – especially after she started her winning-streak of six Olympic medals.[16]

One of Norway's popular athletes is javelin thrower Trine Hattestad. She competes in what could be characterized as a "not-so-feminine" event, and in addition to having a muscular body she is also heavy set (a "trait" of most javelin throwers, to help them create more power and force in the throw). Hattestad is highly respected for her talent, and is portrayed as a winner – which she should be, as she won all 1997 events she entered up until the World Championships in Athens in August, 1997. To top the string of victories, she became the 1997 World Champion as well. But not only is she characterized as a winner in the Norwegian media, she is also portrayed as a "smiling, cute girl" ("girl" – despite being in her early- to mid-30s). Actually, despite her heavy, muscular body, her "cute," feminine characteristics (blue, smiling eyes; long blond hair; a great smile) are emphasized by the media. In addition, her role as a mother also receives focus in the newspapers.

The difficult question is, do the journalists choose to stick to feminine stereotypes when portraying her, or do they actually only report facts?

Not many people would deny the fact that Hattestad has a very charming personality, which makes most people think of her as "cute," and so on. Her smile would probably make most people smile back. In addition, she loves her husband and children very much, and enjoys having them around – even (or maybe especially) when she competed in the 1997 World Championships. However, at the same time, she is now admired as a strong force that keeps on coming back to win more – a trait usually not viewed as feminine. Since her break-through at

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Zhan winning the gold. The decision to separate the female and male competitors was made already in 1991 at an International Olympic Committee meeting at which Nicolaysen was present.

age 17, when she finished fifth in the European Championship in 1982, she has come back after being falsely accused of steroid use, and after major injuries and disappointments. She also chose to have a child instead of competing in the 1995 World Championships, but came back strong after the birth of her son – proving wrong all the coaches in the world that argue women are "lost" as athletes once they choose to have a child. (Other top athletes also have successfully come back to elite sports after pregnancies). The Norwegian media have also followed up on her tough "battles" and therefore seem to report on stories regarding Hattestad's "traits" that are not stereotypically feminine.

At the same time, two female skiers can be used as examples on how advertisers and the media "crave" good-looking, charming female athletes. Alpine skiers Astrid Lødemel, Norway, and Picabo Street, United States, have both won medals in World Championships and/or Olympic games.[17] However, they both have gained greater attention among advertisers and members of the media than equally successful female skiers have received – probably much due to their looks and "cute" personalities. Lødemel has what might be called a classically beautiful face, while Street has a more girlish face, with freckles giving her a somewhat "bratty" look. Both, though different in their ways, have outgoing personalities and charm most people. As a result, the media in Norway and the U.S. have probably given more coverage to these more stereotypically attractive female athletes than to other female athletes who have reached the same level of achievement.[18]

This review of literature shows that men still dominate the media and the world of sports. However, there has been little research conducted about how female athletes and the female journalists who cover female sports view media sports coverage. Therefore, my research question for this paper is as follows:

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[16] Bonnie Blair's Olympic medals in speed skating: 500-meter – 3 x gold (1988, '92, '94); 1000-meter – 2 x gold (1992, '94); 1 x bronze (1988).

[17] Picabo Street: 1996 World Championships – downhill, 1st; super-G, 3rd; combined, 3rd. 1996 World Cup – downhill overall, 1st. 1994 Winter Olympics – downhill, 2nd; combined, 2nd. 1998 Winter Olympics – super-G, 1st.
Astrid Lødemel: 1993 World Championships – downhill, 2nd; super-G, 3rd. Later retired due to injury.

[18] This "claim" is based only on my personal observations, and is not backed in this paper by any formal research.

How is the media coverage of female athletes perceived by the athletes themselves and the female journalists who cover them?

Methodology

For this preliminary study on media coverage of women in sports in the daily newspapers in the U.S. and Norway, I utilized person-to-person interviews with female athletes and female sports journalists who are former athletes. Each person was interviewed for 30-40 minutes in a "one-on-one," face-to-face setting, and all four women were asked the same questions in the same order. To ensure the correct representation of the interviewees' opinions, the interviews were tape-recorded and back-up notes were taken. All interviews were conducted in March, 1997, at the alpine skiing World Cup Finals in Vail, Colorado (U.S.A.). All interviewees were in Vail either as competitors or as journalists covering the events. The following were interviewed:

Hilary Lindh: from the U.S.; 1997 World Champion in downhill skiing and a long-time member of the U.S. Ski team; has often been in the "shadow" of Picabo Street, as the U.S. media has focused most (or all) of its attention on Street when covering women's alpine skiing in the past few years; approx. age: late 20s.[19]

Ingeborg Helen Marken: from Norway; "up-and-coming" skier on the Norwegian Alpine Ski Team; viewed by coaches from various nations as the emerging, new "star" on the women's alpine skiing World Cup circuit; approx. age: early 20s.

Helen Scott-Smith: English citizen born in Geneva, Switzerland as a "U.N. kid" who always had friends from "all over the world" (all their parents worked for the U.N.); she currently lives in the U.S. part of the year; freelance journalist/reporter for alpine skiing (for 10 years) and for tennis (for 12 years) for various international media; ski raced for six years, for both Swiss and British teams; approx. age: mid-30s.

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[19] The interviewees' ages are included, as their experiences might be affected by their age and the length of their experience in their respective fields of work. As I spoke with the interviewees, I found that the two oldest women (the journalists) presented a greater depth of thought regarding the issues discussed than the two younger women. However, Lindh has later commented that she believes the reason she and Marken give less thought to these ideas is that while they are competitive athletes they "cannot get wrapped up in all that," but have to focus on their performances. Also see comments on page 29.

Unni Anisdal: from Norway; radio sports reporter for NRK-Radio (Norway's nation-wide, most popular radio station) since 1978; covers women's and men's alpine skiing, women's and men's handball, women's soccer (international championships only), and women's and men's swimming; member of the Norwegian national team in handball for years, and has played in 72 international matches for Norway; playing coach for Norwegian division II and III teams for five years; approx. age: mid-40s.

At the start of each interview, the interviewee was informed that all questions to be asked would be in regard to the sports coverage in daily newspapers in the athlete's/reporter's home country. (The interview questions are listed in Appendix A.)

In the analysis of these four individuals' responses to my interview questions, I sought to find similarities and differences in their replies, as well as various circumstances in their lives that might have shaped their opinions regarding the issues of this study.[20]

Results

The interviews with the women presented above have cast some light on the research question, "How is the media coverage of female athletes perceived by the athletes themselves and the female journalists who cover them?" After analyzing their replies, overall I found that these women feel that female athletes generally receive less sports-related coverage in the newspaper media than do male athletes, and that the newspapers seem to view the male athletes as more important, as the coverage of male sports results and events usually are covered in greater depth and more often. The women interviewed also find that the newspaper coverage of female athletes has a negative impact in financial terms (income from sponsors and advertisers). The results, which are presented and discussed below, are organized according to themes that surfaced when using critical theory to analyze media coverage of female athletes. Analysis of the interviews from a critical perspective revealed three themes:

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[20] Information regarding their lives is mainly focused on the professional aspect, as my ability to access information regarding their private lives is somewhat limited.

1. Female athletes receive a lesser amount of and less sports-oriented coverage.
2. The media consider male athletes more important than female athletes, much due to the "men-are-best" syndrome, as reflected in their coverage.
3. Dominant cultural views of women outside sports determine the way in which women are portrayed by the media as successful athletes.

1. Female athletes receive a lesser amount of and less sports-oriented coverage.

Each interview with the four women was started with the following statement and question in order to provoke a clear answer of agreement or disagreement: "Male athletes generally receive more extensive coverage than female athletes do. What do you think the reason is?" Two women (the two Norwegians) agreed with the statement, whereas the other two women disagreed. However, overall, all four answers pointed somewhat in the same direction: The best athletes get the most coverage, so if female athletes are better than male athletes, the women get the coverage.

U.S. world champion in downhill skiing, Hilary Lindh did not agree completely with the statement that male athletes generally receive more newspaper coverage than female athletes do. She replied: "I know, for myself, that I've gotten a lot of coverage – even when I was younger."

When I told Lindh about the major Denver newspaper's minor coverage of her championship title, she did not feel that the coverage was unfair. Instead, she replied that she felt this paper's ski reporter is highly knowledgeable about skiing, is friendly, writes well, and has written several stories about her throughout the years that she felt were fair and well-written. [21]

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[21] Please note that the other three interviewees and I had met in the past, and knew/knew of each other to various degrees. Lindh and I, however, had never met until I asked her if we could set up an appointment for a research interview. As she was in the role of a "new" World Champion discussing somewhat "touchy" issues with a "stranger," it

Journalist Scott-Smith said she did not agree that male athletes generally receive more coverage than female athletes do, but believed that the coverage depends on the results. "In Germany, for skiing at least, the women dominate [in sports coverage]. And in Switzerland, with [tennis player Martina] Hingis,[22] the women athletes also dominate the media. In the U.S., there are more sports that are practiced by men only, so in the U.S. it is especially true [that the men receive more coverage]."

At the same time, two of the women did not think female and male athletes get the same kind of coverage for the same kind of results. Scott-Smith believed the male athletes receive more coverage than female athletes for the same kinds of results, and used well-known athletes as an example. She compared the coverage received by Swiss female alpine skier Vreni Schneider and Italian male alpine skier Alberto Tomba, and the coverage received by the German tennis players Steffi Graf and Boris Becker. She argued that in both instances, the male world-class athlete receives/has received more sports-focused coverage by the media than his female world-class counterpart. Scott-Smith further suggested that in Germany, even though Becker and Graf started playing tennis at the same time and Graf has won more Grand Slam titles than Becker has, he receives 70% of the tennis coverage while she receives only 30%. "And her exposure is not because of tennis," Scott-Smith added.

Lindh suggested a different scenario. She believed the kind of coverage might depend on *who* the individual athlete is, and that gender is not necessarily the deciding factor. She argued that when she, Tommy Moe and Picabo Street won their Olympic medals (prior to the 1998 season)[23], neither accomplishment was a big story in the United States – neither for the

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is my perception that she *might* have held back on "negative" views regarding the media, and pushed her positive views forward. I am not sure if she trusted my intentions as a researcher - particularly because I also worked as a TV-reporter covering the World Cup events during which we met - and we did not spend enough time together for me to build that trust. Also, the fact that she is one of Alaska's most successful athletes might have given her additional newspaper coverage in that state as a young athlete, compared to what other female athletes might have received in the "lower" 48 states.

[22] The 1997 International Tennis Federation (ITF) World Champion.

[23] Lindh: 1992 Olympic silver medallist in downhill and 1997 World Champion in downhill. Moe: 1994 Olympic Champion in downhill. Street: see footnote 17, and note that Street had not yet won her 1998 Olympic downhill gold medal at the time I interviewed Lindh. Street's 1998 Olympic gold seems to receive more publicity than Lindh's 1997 World Championship gold. I will argue that this is due to Street's "wilder" image attracting more press and advertisers than Lindh's presumed (by the media) more quiet personality – as well as the notoriety surrounding the Olympics. Sports-wise, however, both accomplishments are equal. Also, in my opinion, Moe, the defending Olympic Champion,

male nor the female athletes. However, she later clarified that she believes Moe and Street received more attention for their 1994 Lillehammer Olympic efforts (gold medal for Moe, two silver medals for Street) than she did for her 1992 Alberville Olympic silver medal. The reason, according to Lindh, partially lies in *which* Olympics the medals were won. She argues the 1994 Winter Olympics received greater attention in the U.S. media than the previous winter games, mainly because the Tonya Harding/Nancy Kerrigan figure-skating controversy.

Anisdal argued that, at a world-class level, female and male athletes do receive the same coverage for the same kinds of results. However, she also pointed out that in their articles, the Norwegian newspaper journalists tend be more "kind" towards the female athletes, while they are "tougher" with the men and put more pressure on the male athletes if they do not achieve good results[24].

When asked about differences between newspaper journalists form various nations, the two skiers felt that the angles taken by journalists in regard to female athletes are not essentially different from nation to nation. U.S. skier Lindh believed there might be a difference in the angle from which various nations' newspapers cover sports, but not necessarily related to gender: "[The other nations' media] try to understand why the U.S. can do so well in big [alpine skiing] events [even if they do not do well in the smaller events prior to a championship]," she said. Then she added, "it is hard to tell if there is a difference – they [all journalists] are very critical of their own country's athletes."

The two journalists, on the other hand, argued that there is a big difference in angles taken by sports journalists: "In the U.S., they are only interested in the *winner*, and they are also mainly interested in themselves and their own athletes. Other nations are better at looking at the top three finishers, including in Switzerland and Austria," Anisdal argued. "This also includes

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received slightly more pre-event coverage than what Street did, prior to the 1998 Winter Olympics. This despite the fact that Street has generally achieved stronger international results than Moe since the 1994 Olympics.

[24] A related question that could be asked regarding this, is whether this kind of differential media focus/angle could be a result of the media possibly giving the male athletes more sports- and result-focused attention, while the attention given to female athletes focuses on other issues as well; a question closely related to the hypothesis of this paper.

Norway, but the [Norwegian] *afternoon* newspapers often use angles which lead them away from sports and focus more on marriages, boyfriends and girlfriends, and so on.

All four women thought that, in their own home countries, male athletes receive the most media coverage. This opinion included sports in general. In addition, the women pointed out, comes the coverage of popular male-dominated sports (such as soccer in Europe) and all-male professional sports (football, baseball and – at the time of the interviews – basketball in the U.S.).

Lindh said: "[In the U.S.], it is hard to compete with the "big three," but it has gotten somewhat better with [the coverage of] the Olympics." Scott-Smith believed that the U.S. newspapers are "a little bit more open to write about women" than are newspapers in many other countries, but that the many men-only sports occupy a majority of the space on the U.S. sports pages. Anisdal believed that the reason why male athletes generally receive more coverage than female athletes in Norway is that there are more high-level male athletes. "[Norwegian] newspaper journalists are extremely result-oriented. If the girls do well, they will receive the same coverage. But currently, there are more male top athletes than female. However, the guys receive coverage no matter how well they do, the women only when they reach the top.... The reason it has become this way is because there is a majority of *male* sports journalists. If there were more female sports journalists, the coverage would be angled differently." [25]

Scott-Smith pointed out that she is often hired by press agencies *because* she is a female journalist. "I take a different angle than male journalists," she explained. However, she does not believe the quality and amount of in-depth, sports-focused coverage of women necessarily will improve if there are more female sports journalists: "Female journalists are not always the female athletes' allies – and I say this after 10 years of experience."

The three of the four women also felt there are major differences in how women are portrayed in sports photography. Lindh and Scott-Smith believed the male athletes generally are shown as more active and aggressive in the photos, while the women often are portrayed as passive and sometimes as sex symbols. Marken somewhat supported this impression, while Anisdal argued that the photographs generally portray both women and men as active.

"For the women, there are more head shots and modeling in less clothing – for example by beach volleyball players," U.S. skier, Lindh argued. "In skiing, however, we're always bundled up and it is normal to use head shots of both women and men, plus some actions shots." Norwegian skier, Marken believed there are more "family-related" photos of the women – "they show the women's 'housewife side'," – while the photos of the men would show their tougher sides.

"The men are always portrayed while doing an effort. They show muscles and sweat," Scott-Smith said. "The girls are portrayed as elegant and good looking." She also argued that the men are mainly shown in action photos, generally taken from the side or showing their face. Action photos of women, on the other hand, especially in tennis and at the start of alpine ski races, often shows the athlete from the back, with the camera in a lowered position. "In tennis, there are always photos from behind, with the [women athlete's] legs open and skirt open," Scott-Smith claimed.

Also, the women are expected to look different than the men during championship awards ceremonies, according to Scott-Smith. She used her observations at the 1997 World Championships in alpine skiing in Sestriere, Italy, as an example: The Swiss and Austrian teams brought specific people who helped the female medal winners apply make-up and do their hair before the awards ceremonies. According to Scott-Smith, bronze-medal winner in the super-G and combined events, Hilde Gerg from Germany, refused to follow this "norm" when she received her medals in Sestriere. "There was an obvious difference" between Gerg and the

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[25] All interview replies by Unni Anisdal and Ingeborg Helen Marken were given in Norwegian and have been translated to English for this paper by Bente Bjørnsen. Extreme caution has been given not to change the tone of their replies.

other two women on the podium, Scott-Smith said. "And the Germans [the ski team leaders] didn't care – they cared about the [race] result."[26]

2. The media consider male athletes more important than female athletes, much due to the "men-are-best" syndrome, as reflected in their coverage.

In general, the four women felt that the newspapers view male as more important than female athletes, based upon their observations that the coverage of male athletes seems to be more in depth than for women, and that female athletes do not receive the same kind of pre-event coverage and coverage for the same kind of results, compared to the men.

First, as stated above, the newspaper coverage of male athletes seems to be more in depth than for female athletes. Scott-Smith argued that "when it comes to female athletes, the media only cover the surface.... [The newspapers] try to build personalities and to go deeper – 'Who are they?' and 'What are they?' They probably think that women are not very interesting. Look at the coverage of [track and field athlete] Carl Lewis, [skier] Alberto Tomba compared to Hilary Lindh! They have all been at the top for 10 years.... This affects how the female athletes get paid. Personalities make a lot of money. If the [athlete's] impact [through the media] is not good the money or reward or salary is not good."[27]

Secondly, two of the women argued that female athletes do not receive the same kind of pre-event coverage as male athletes. Anisdal and Marken believed the pre-event overage to be disproportionate: "The coverage is not equal. There is a lot less pre-event coverage before a women's championship than generally before a men's championship," Anisdal argued.

However, two of the women felt the pre-event coverage is equally distributed by gender at times. "Before the Olympics, where they compete in the same disciplines, the coverage is equal," Scott-Smith said. "They predict the probable winners both for the men and women, for instance. The pre-event coverage is probably closer [in the kind of coverage given to female and male athletes] than other coverage." Lindh also thought the pre-event coverage for the 1997 alpine skiing World Championships was equally distributed between the men and women.

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[26] Hilde Gerg continues to perform – "despite" the lack of make-up. In the 1998 Winter Olympics in Nagano, Japan, she won the gold medal in the slalom and the bronze in the combined event.

[27] Scott-Smith knows what she is talking about when it comes to lower pay for women. As a female freelance sports journalist, she often gets offered less pay than what male counterparts do. Sometimes she replies: "Yes, and milk is always 50% of the full price when women go to buy it," making the point that women have the same costs of living as men do and therefore need the same pay.

Thirdly, all four women agreed that female athletes do not receive the same kind of coverage for the same kind of results, compared to male athletes. However, Anisdal argued that women and men receive the same coverage for the same results on elite levels, such as in World Championships, but that tradition also plays a major role. "It also depends on the sport. In Norway, there are some traditional sports that get coverage, no matter which gender competes," she said. Also, in a traditional perspective, Anisdal says a World Championship in women's moguls cannot measure up to a World Championship in ski jumping for men, as ski jumping has a longer tradition in Norway than mogul skiing does. (Norway has top athletes in both events).

3. Dominant cultural views of women outside sports determine the way in which women are portrayed by the media as successful athletes.

There was a strong belief among three of the women that newspapers treat female athletes differently from male athletes, and that the newspapers generally seek to fit the female athletes into the socially accepted norms for women. The Norwegian journalist, on the other hand, believed men and women are portrayed equally by newspapers.

"In Norway, your face has a lot to do with it. If you look 'pleasant and cute' you will be covered by the media," Marken, the Norwegian skier said, and continued: "In some sports, the women are often covered because of their looks or personalities. For the [newspapers covering the] women, the [women's] results do not count the most, other things surrounding [her] do. With men's sports, they [the newspapers] cover other aspects of their readers' needs – such as action. This can have both a positive and negative effect on female athletes. If this coverage increases the interest for the sport, it can be positive. But it can also be negative – they miss the point of the *sport*. Then again, sports are also entertainment, so they [the media] need to make it interesting." Later in the interview, Marken added that "some male athletes receive media attention because of their looks, but the actual sport also comes more in focus [than with the women]. A lot of the coverage of women concentrate on what will happen to them *after* they're done as athletes – will they become pregnant, and so on."

Lindh argued that newspapers, "when covering women, ... make a lot more references to what the parents had to do with what you have accomplished, and to your family." Female athletes' attitudes – what is acceptable and what is not – are also pointed out by the media, she argued: "If a man is competitive and wants to win, it's seen as positive. If a woman is aggressive and competitive and wants to win, it can be seen as negative.... This is part of society, though, and not specific to the media. This is how culture is, its picture of men and women."

Anisdal does not believe that looks or personality have anything to do with an athlete's popularity with the media, but says it is *easier* to work with an athlete that has charm.

Conclusion

In summary, the analysis of the opinions of the four women interviewed has provided some answers for the research question, "how is the media coverage of female athletes perceived by the athletes themselves and the female journalists who cover them?" The four women interviewed in this research generally supported the notion that men hold the power in both media and sport, and that this power structure negatively affected the amount of newspaper coverage of women's sports. They also felt that the coverage of female athletes generally focused less on sports-related issues, offered less in-depth information about sports, and rather focused on issues related to traditional stereotypes and norms ascribed to women in general. The four women felt the media often saw male athletes as more important than female athletes, as male athletes tend to receive more coverage, compared to a female athlete, for the same level of competition results, generally received more pre-event coverage, and usually were portrayed as more active and athletic than their female counterparts.

However, there were variations in the four women's opinions regarding media coverage of female athletes. These differences seem to be grounded in their individual experiences: the area, nation and/or culture in which they grew up, their age (in some cases), and their occupation (ski racer or journalist). For example, one of the athletes is a world champion, while the other is not. This has most likely affect their experiences with the media in different ways. Also, Lindh, for example, has possibly received more coverage by her regional media in Alaska while growing up, than what a female skier in the "lower" 48 states would receive, in part because Alaska is geographically removed from major professional, male-dominated sports teams. Scott-Smith, on the other hand, is affected by the less liberal views of women dominant in central Europe, where she grew up.

In terms of age, the younger women (the two skiers) tended to offer comments that were less in depth than the comments by the two oldest women. This might in part be attributed to the difference in length of their "life experiences." However, Lindh has recently commented that she and Marken gave[28]/give less thought to the nature of the media coverage because competitive athletes must focus on their performances. "you can't get wrapped up in all that. You can't get bummed out because someone gets more coverage than you because you're a woman. You don't have time and energy for that while competing; you must concentrate on competing," Lindh commented in a July, 1998 phone conversation.

Finally, in some areas, the views offered by the two skiers and the two journalists differ, most likely because the journalists have experiences from within the field of mass media.

After this preliminary research has been completed, I realize a few weaknesses in my study. First, the low number of women interviewed makes it difficult to draw general conclusions. More female athletes and female sports journalists should be included in future research to get a broader impression of their opinions. In addition, I realized during the interviews that it was difficult for these women, especially the two ski racers, to answer specific questions regarding their individual home-countries' newspapers. The reason for this is that these women are traveling around the world for ski training and/or competitions for most of the year, and consequently have little access to their native country media. However, this study still brings to light new information regarding female athletes' and female journalists' perceptions of media coverage of female athletes, which might be helpful background for future research.

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[28] Lindh retired from competitive skiing after the 1997 World Cup Final in Vail, Colorado. She worked as a color commentator during CBS' alpine skiing coverage during the 1998 Winter Olympics in Nagano, Japan, offering insightful and interesting commentary.

The issues pointed out above regarding weaknesses in my research should be addressed in future research, however. Also, issues such as market-specific differences could be addressed, such as the major professional sports for men dominating the media picture in most of the U.S., the Norwegian media focusing on traditional sports, different from the major sports in the U.S. media, and regional popularity of "hometown" athletes – i.e. Lindh's high popularity with the media in Alaska.

In conclusion, the findings from the interviews completed for this preliminary study show that both female athletes and female journalists feel the male domination of media and sports negatively affects the newspaper coverage of female athletes. At the same time, this study suggests that there are changing trends in the media and the world of sports, with an increasing acceptance of and interest in female athletes and their sporting events. Since this paper was started, women's professional basketball has grown in the U.S. and has started the long and slow ascent toward popularity and acceptance. These teams' struggles for attention in newspapers continue, however.

In a newspaper commentary in *VG* on Feb. 20, 1998, well-known (in Norway) sports journalist Truls Dæhli demanded more financial support for female athletes in Norway. Under the headline: "Let the girls loose, there is gold to be captured," [29] Dæhli points out that Germany had the highest medal count in the 1998 Winter Olympics mainly due to the strong performance by the German female athletes (Dæhli, 1998). According to Dæhli, Norway needs to put more money and effort into women's elite sports, and the lack of top results by Norwegian women at the Olympics were not due to the female athletes' lack of talent, strong will or hard work, but due to the lack of support from sporting organizations, teams and sponsors. "The women have done as well as Norwegian sport deserves. But they can accomplish much more. If they only are allowed to" (Dæhli, 1998).

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[29] All direct references to Dæhli's column have been translated by Bente Bjørnsen for the use in this paper.

According to Dæhli, the IOC realizes the increasing importance of female athletes – if nothing else, at least as sources that can bring in additional sponsor and advertising money. The fact that female shooters will be able to compete in two additional Olympic events for women only, starting in the 2000 Olympics in Sidney, Australia[30], might be testimony for this fact. (Nicolaysen, 1997). The question remains, however, how the media will cover female athletes in the future, and on which premises female athletes are allowed to develop when and if more money becomes available to them. As things stand now, it seems to be major corporations' and organizations' interest in making more money – through commodification of athletes – and not the interest for female athletes for the athletes' sake, which is the driving power behind the increasing interest in female athletes by the media and other powers. These issues should continue to be followed in the future.

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[30] Skeet and trap will return as women-only events, and the women will continue to compete in the current women-only event, double-trap.

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Appendix A

Questions asked during interviews in March, 1997 (sub-questions were also asked, for clarification or expansion at different times during the various interviews):

1. Male athletes generally receive more coverage than female athletes do. What do you think the reason is?
2. What percentage of the media coverage do you think female athletes get in your home country (compared to male athletes)?
3. How do you think female athletes are portrayed by the daily newspapers in your home country? (Why? Positives and negatives? Describe/give examples.)
4. How do you think male athletes are portrayed by the daily newspapers in your home country? (Why? Positives and negatives? Describe/give examples.)
5. Do female and male athletes get the same kind of coverage for the same kinds of results?
6. Do female and male athletes get the same kind of pre-event coverage for the same kinds of events?
7. What are the differences in the use of photography for female and male athletes (frequency and kinds of photos)?
8. Do you feel there is a difference in the news angle taken by daily newspapers from various nations?
9. Do you have anything else you would like to add?

# # #

Suffocating Jezebel, Sapphire and Mammy: Persistent Cross-Media Stereotypes Of African American Women in "WAITING TO EXHALE"

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ABSTRACT

The film "Waiting to Exhale" continues to hold a historic place the film and video industry. It also continues to influence the fabric of many African American women's psyche and intimate relationships in the Black community. This descriptive study is based on a focus group of 29 African American viewers conducted soon after the cinematic debut and again two years later. It looks at cross-media representation of African American women; how African American women see themselves and relate to this cross-media work; how African Americans think Whites see African Americans and relate to this media work and what this cross-media work says about gender relationships among and between Black men and women and between White women and Black men and women. The author explains the implications of viewing reality for Black women from the description of the women and their lives portrayed in this cross-media work.

INTRODUCTION

Profitability and Popularity

Black women went to see the film "Waiting to Exhale" in greater numbers and perhaps more times per viewer, than any other film. "Waiting to Exhale" broke all box office gross records for Black films, earning about $40 million, drawing interracial audiences that were largely female (Alexander 1). On the weekend it was released (at the end of December 1995), "Waiting to Exhale" was number-one nationally and even beat the stiff competition of Oliver Stone's "Nixon" (Eveld E1). Its April 23, 1997 video release generated controversy because of its unusually early timing and aggressively low retail price (Alexander 1). Between 600,000 and one million video copies sold in the first six days. Stores scrambled for reorders, especially in the urban and college markets (Alexander 2).

Though industry experts predicted that the early, low priced video sales release would limit the video rental market (Alexander 1), "Exhale" moved from the number 10 top video rental, up to number 5, in three weeks (Detroit News 52093, 47238, 511139). Video rental and sales figures may be even more significant than box office take because viewers watch movies more often on their VCR's than they go to films in theaters (Dimmick and Albarran 223).

The film soundtrack's title song has been called "The Woman's National Anthem." The soundtrack also broke sales records. Several talk show hosts spent multiple episodes on the film. Women across the country held "Waiting to Exhale" parties. The book was one the ten most-read books on HBCU campuses for more than seven months (Black Issues 25). HBO aired "Exhale" four times in November 1996, as their viewing guide inside cover feature (HBO 2). ABC broadcast the domestic network debut in June of 1998. "Exhale" has been broadcast in Germany and even the Czech Republic. Despite the distribution of a few other fairly well-distributed dramatic films, with black female central characters, such as "Soul Food," and "Eve's Bayou," nothing since "Waiting to Exhale" has earned its Black-oriented box office or stirred the same controversy in the Black community.

Uniqueness

"Exhale" is not about men, as are most Black oriented films. It is the first African American oriented "chick flick" to ever become a major motion picture. That the story of middle-class, African American women, based on a novel by an African American woman, directed by an African American, with African Americans in all principle and supporting roles, ever made it to major distribution, is a miracle in and of itself (Bobo 1-107). "Exhale" was sure to be a hit with African American movie goers because many of them were members of the silenced Black middle-class, eager for the rare opportunity to see a slice of their lives on the screen (Morgan 10).

Cross-Over Market and Media Liability

Every story changes as it is transformed from one medium to another. However in Exhale's metamorphosis, perhaps to assure a large, White, female cross-over audience, the film's writing team chose to emphasize the sexuality of the women in the film. White women can identify with the difficult search for loving partnership but perhaps not with: (1) the racism with which Black women must deal and (2) the middle-class African American sense of social responsibility apparent in the book.

The emphasis on the character's sexuality in the film that was not in the novel, deeply troubled many African Americans. Beverly Guy-Sheftall, author and director of Women's Research and Resource Center at Spelman College was disturbed by several differences between Exhale the book and "Exhale" the film. She said that the women in the film version were,

> "portrayed as apolitical, without racial consciousness or ties to the community...They don't read or appear to care about their professional development, what's going on in the world, or the problems which ail the Black community." (Exhaling 121)

Typically, films about and by Black women like "Exhale" ("Just Another Girl on the IRT," "Daughters of the Dust," etc.) do not gain as high a profile launch as "Exhale" because movie industry executives and investors fear that Whites will not pay to see such a film and thus limit potential box office revenue, even if large segments of African Americans (about 13 percent of the nation's population) do come to see it. Filmmakers banked on the a-good-man-is-hard-to-find theme, in addition to several proven cross-over stars (including Whitney Houston as Savannah; Angela Bassett as Bernadine, who starred in Tina Turner's story; and actors such as Wesley Snipes and Gregory Hines in supporting roles) and changes from the book version, to make the movie more palatable to White women, to assure a better return on their investment.

Despite the over-sexualization and de-culturalization of the principles, Black middle-class viewers did find some things to like, even love, about the film "Exhale." The purpose of this study was to tap into the urban college market that so voraciously consumed this film and video and the raw nerve that it struck, to reveal this public discourse and interpretive community. The researcher sought to explore how African American women see themselves and relate to this cross-media work; how African Americans think Whites see African Americans and relate to "Waiting to Exhale" and what this cross-media work says about gender relationships among and between Black men and women and White men and Black women.

RELEVANT THEORY

Negative Stereotypes

African Americans, though seen more often in the media, than other minorities, are still drastically under-represented. In television and film, minorities appear less frequently than White women and Black women are nearly non-existent. (Wood 236, Giglione 1) Experts agree that when Black women do appear in the media, there are three predominant stereotypes, that of (1) Mammy or Black matriarch, (2) Jezebel or slut (a close cousin to Jezebel may be the "tragic mulatto") and (3) Sapphire or bitch. Bell hooks traces these stereotypes to the devaluation of Black womanhood, used to justify the mass rape and other sexual exploitation of Black women to breed slaves for cheap labor during slavery.

Hooks says the same devaluing stereotypes continue to be used since slavery to serve the same purpose of the institutionalized rape of

Black women -- to continue the subjugation of Black women for economic and psychological (patriarchal) gain (hooks 51).

"The mass media, especially television, is one way that negative images of Black women continue to be impressed on all our psyches." (hooks 65) Moreover, "the media exert the greatest impact on how Black women not only are seen but have come to view themselves." (Edwards 216)

Black Audience Engagement

There are many psycho-socio complexities of audience engagement with a film. The black community and its media critics are also concerned with the affect that media images have on Black community members, as well as the affect it has on Whites and thus government policy and the community's political and economic well being. In studying images of Blacks in the media amateur and professional researchers and critics,

> "...often think of a black audience as a monolithic aggregate completely at the mercy of the film...Such an audience is educated in the right way by a "good" movie and duped by a "bad" one; it is misled by the lack of "reality" and edified by accurately represented social "reality." (Lubiano 3)

"Waiting to Exhale," was both glorified by many Black female viewers for being so real and denigrated by Black male viewers for being so unreal. White films rarely have to pass "the reality test" as a measure of whether the films should have ever been released at all, nor are White films often critically evaluated as to whether they are teaching a good lesson to White people about White people.

Nor do White critics and community members often show public angst over what Black people think of the way White people are presented in White films. However,

> "Historically blacks have always worried aloud about the image that white Americans harbor of us, first because we have never had control of those images and, second, because the greatest number of those images have been negative...It was only one small step to associate our public negative image in the (White) American mind with the public negative social roles that we were assigned and to where we were largely confined. "If only they could be exposed to the *best* of the race," the sentiment went, "then they would see that we were normal human beings and treat us better"...What lies behind these sorts of arguments is a belief that social policies affecting Black Americans

were largely determined by our popular images in the media." (Gates 311-313)

It was therefore hypothesized that self-selected Black viewers, eager to talk about "Waiting to Exhale," would engage the film on an internal psycho-social level, would use their perceived reality of the film as a criteria for the "goodness" or "badness" of the film, and would concern themselves with how whites perceived this Black film.

METHODOLOGY

Focus groups would be used to allow the participants to determine their own agenda as much as possible and to allow the opportunity for unanticipated issues to arise (Lunt and Livingstone 84). Also, "...focus groups can be particularly useful in researching sensitive topics where participants support each other in self-disclosure in a way that would not be possible in an interview (Lunt and Livingstone 85).

Three Black-oriented radio stations in Montgomery, Alabama, including the most highly rated station in Central Alabama, broadcast calls for focus group participants to discuss "Waiting to Exhale" during February and March 1996. Posters, flyers and voice mail messages about the focus group were posted on the campus of Historically Black Alabama State University. Extra credit was offered to ASU communication majors to participate in the discussion.

Individual interviews with four African American Alabama State University men (two students, a staff member and an administrator, who exhibited keen interest in the film but also demonstrated an aversion to participating in the focus group) and one group interview with five African American women at a Waiting to Exhale ("bring a matchbook for admission") party in the Montgomery community, were conducted. These interviews were used to develop a 19-item questionnaire to be distributed to discussion group members before the discussion, to help orient them to the media message in question. The questionnaire was designed to characterize the group, its members' film viewing habits, motivations for, and opinions of, the book and film "*Waiting to Exhale*," and its meanings in the participants lives. Group members were invited to craft, through consensus, five additional issues for the group to address.

This two-hour focus group of 17 African Americans (12 women and nine men) was held on the campus of Alabama State University in Spring 1996. In Spring 1998, to explore continuing interest in, and impact of the film, two, voluntary, one-hour focus group discussions, with eight African Americans (five female and three male), were held in a senior-level ASU "Mass Media and Society" class, immediately after the students had re-viewed the video in class (All had seen the movie in the theatre during its first run, at least once before the group).

Students in this group discussed the same 19 questions, as did the earlier group but generated five different additional items about which to talk. Thorough explanation and detailed written agreements regarding confidentiality and the separateness of opinions expressed and extra course credit earned were processed, to help clarify the "personal-social-political relations among the participants, including the researcher (Lunt and Livingstone 87)."

RESULTS & DISCUSSION

Participant Description and Viewing Patterns

Though the college student population was approximately ten percent White, the Montgomery community (signal range of the radio promos) is 60 percent White and the stations promoting the focus group have White listeners, all participants were African American. The fact that no Whites, not even White females among whom this film was also popular, elected to join the focus group held during an unscheduled "university hour" and the lunch hour, may support the theory that African Americans engage more intensely with Black-oriented films.

Ninety percent (26) of the focus group members were unmarried, African American college students at a historically Black, Southeastern, state college, between the ages of 20 and 25. Two participants and the researcher were African American female faculty members and one additional participant was a male, community activist. Both the initial and subsequent focus groups were roughly 60 percent female (57 percent and 63 percent respectively).

Nearly three-quarters (72 percent) usually went to the theatre to see a film every 4-8 weeks. Almost half (48 percent) went to see "Exhale" because they had read the novel and enjoyed it. Ten percent went to see the film because they had heard or read good reviews of the film "Exhale." Another ten percent said they went because they wanted to find out what the controversy surrounding this film was about.

The viewing context was different for the women than it was for the men. Men were more likely than women to have seen the film by themselves (42 percent) than women (12 percent). Women were most likely to have seen the film with a relative or group of family members (47 percent), whereas none of the men saw the film with a family member. This gender viewing context difference may parallel viewing behavior for other films but this possibility was not explored in this study.

Women were more likely to be repeat viewers (47 percent) than the men (33 percent). In the second focus group, which was preceded by re-viewing "Exhale" on video, one woman knew all the lines and had to be asked, more than once, to stop reciting them just before each actor did. Almost all the women in the second group recited at least one scene and ironically, forty percent of the second group of women owned the video, though none of them owned a VCR. The validating power of this film for young African American women may be so intense, as to render the mere possession of a copy of the video, as a reassuring symbol of racial solidarity, bonding with Black women and the hope for romantic intimacy with a man.

Film Viewing as a Sign of Racial Solidarity

Sixty-five percent of the women said they felt validated by the film as did 50 percent of the men. Some of the sense of the men's validation may have come from the fact that they agreed to see this film about Black women, at least partially, as a sacrifice of some part of their mail ego or Black patriarchal privilege (hooks 115-&) to please black women in their community with whom they would later discuss the film. Many men who vehemently refused invitations to participate in the group, said they had heard that Black men were depicted poorly in "Exhale" and refused to even see it. Nearly 60 percent of the men and 82 percent of the women agreed that "Seeing the film made me feel as though I were expressing solidarity with African American women."

Over 80 percent of the women and 75 percent of the men agreed that "Seeing the film made me feel good about my friendships with women even if my love life is not what I'd like it to be." Actually, because of the shortage of eligible Black men, and Black women's more intensified competition over them, it may be more difficult for Black women to form the idealized bonds the film version of "Exhale" presents as automatic.

Unlike the book, the film "Exhale" reinforces another myth some White women hold about easy, automatic, supportive sisterhood among Black women. Exhale the book shows that the friendships between these Black women are sometimes hard won and for which they make great sacrifices to maintain because the shortage of available Black men, makes them rely on other Black women more for what they haven't "had in a long time: somewhere to go, something to do and somebody to do it with (McMillan 34)." All the women and 67 percent of the men in both focus groups, said they strongly identified with one or more of the main characters in the film. All of the women who responded and 55 percent of the men, agreed that "Exhale" created a stronger bound between Black women.

The occasion of going to see the film with Black women, attending Exhale parties, or having even seen the film to discuss with other black women, acted to increase intimacy between Black women in this group. Many Black women said they felt the lesson of the film for them was to bond with Black women to fulfill emotional intimacy needs, rather than to compete with them, or to continue to look for fulfillment in emotional relationships with men.

Black Woman's Story vs. Every Woman's Story

Group members were fairly divided however on whether "Exhale" was a universal story with Black actors (48 percent) or whether the film (in a slightly different issue discussed) was a uniquely African American "Black slice of life" (57 percent). For instance one woman said, "This is a Black movie. White women don't go through this." However another said, "The movie should not have portrayed the situations as Black situations."

In television interviews, many White women insisted that this film was universal and that they could identify with it completely. Many African American women in the focus groups and in the television interviews, saw White women's supposed complete identification with the Black characters, as another form of White aproprietism of something uniquely theirs--their men as well as their level of romantic frustration and flavor of interpersonal communication. What is purposely de-emphasized in the film (but apparent in the book),. and about which few White women are aware, is Black woman's sense of social/cultural responsibility and the intensified and more complex despair of Black women related their desire for loving relationship.

"Blacks are the only group in America with more single than married. The gender imbalance is the worst that's ever been reported since they began taking the census...(and when you factor in confirmed bachelors, those men married to, or exclusively dating non-black women) incarceration, drug addiction, homosexuality, unemployment--and the real factor is unemployment--then the marketable index changes to (fewer than) 5 (Black men for every)- 10 (Black women) (Jackson 29-30)."

Tests of Reality as a Criteria of A Good Film

Almost 90 percent of the women thought "Exhale" was a realistic film, and therefore a good film, compared to 42 percent of the men. Nearly 90 percent of the women and 75 percent of the men, agreed that "Exhale" was a realistic depiction of how difficult their love lives were. However the women were more firm in their consensus on the film's reality here, with 53 percent of the women but only 12 percent of the men, "strongly" agreeing with this idea, that the film realistically portrayed their difficult love lives.

This disparity may be due to the fact that Black women experience far fewer dating options than Black men do. African American women are the most likely, across all race, gender and age groups, to never marry, to be divorced or to live alone (Current Population 55). Even in interracial marriage, a Black woman is the least likely bride, of any race, across all classes (Married Couples Table 61).

All the of Exhale's principles are college educated, which creates additional obstacles for Black women seeking relationships with Black men. In college the ratio between Black men and women is 1:2 (Heart 19) even worse than the uneducated class, whereas the ratio of collegiate men to women, in other race groups, increases rather than decreases. "Those (Black) women will graduate with degrees, MBA's, those women are going to want to marry guys who (are)...educated...It isn't elitist. What they want is someone who understands the world that they perceive...the education isn't just about money; it really says the partner shares the perception of the world you share (Jackson 29)."

In a study that sought to determine if African American men, who are literally surrounded by available women, "tend to become arrogant, shallow and uncommitted," Drs. Larry Davis and Michael Strube of Washington University in St. Louis Missouri found that Black and White college men, in committed relationships, hold similar views on "love, liking and commitment (Heart 19)." They did not however study African American men who are playing the field, who may be exploiting the availability of mateless, African American women.

Also, "One of the theories of staying together is the satisfaction with the relationship, investment in the relationship and its negative relation to alternatives (researcher's emphasis) (Jackson 28)." The unmarried African American women in both focus groups report that "Exhale's" depiction of men, mirrors their lives without hyperbole. As one participant put it, "What was is in the film, is exactly what I go through in my life."

Many African American women, from psychologists, to Oprah, to Exhale's author herself, answer criticism about the predominantly negative images of African American men in the film and book, by saying that "Exhale" is not so much about bad men but smart women making stupid choices. However the majority of single African American, heterosexual women, may only have Gloria's choice of celibacy-by-the-decade or bad, but at least partially available, Black men. In the second focus group, 80 percent of the women and all the men agreed that "Exhale" depicted the notion that "a piece of a man" is better than no man at all.

Non-African American women's ability to identify with the universal theme of the heartbreak of searching for true love, in a shifting society that no longer provides regular, healthy opportunities for courtship, nor safe, if restricting, roles and rules in which to play--was good for box office business. However, the whitewashing of Black women's blues to draw this audience, only reinforces the myth that the dilemma of Black women is no different from any other group.

Even among other women of color, African American women as a group have the most limited social outlook. Perhaps these severely limited social outlets are responsible for what hooks observes as "an obsessive concern among black women with male-female relationships (hooks 82)."

Jezebel or Just Lookin' for Love?

This so-called obsessive concern about relationships may be erroneously equated with an obsessive--and socially perceived as sinful--sexual appetite. Black media icon Bill Cosby and other 40-plus Black community members, including our two older focus group members and some of the 20-25 year-old males in the group, have reviled media images of and 30-something Black women such as the now canceled television series "Living Single" and "Exhale" because they show what may be a "real" intense interest among African American professional, neo-middle-class women, to create committed relationship with men or sometimes to indulge in sexual intimacy alone if they can not make the spiritual intimacy manifest. Hooks discusses Black communities' "puritanical emphasis on purifying and cleansing black people, in particular black women, of their unclean sexuality (hooks 110)."

On religious and often political grounds, Black women are severely punished for displaying sexuality and immediately stereotyped as the Jezebel, deserving loneliness, rape, torture, and even death for her perceived wanton-ness. As one female focus group member said, "Gloria was the only Godly woman in the bunch...(the rest of them) deserve whatever they get and worse." Another male focus group member compared "Exhale" to the blaxploitation film "Superfly" that edified a drug dealing pimp, saying that ("Exhale") tore down the black community...It was pornographic...just about sex and money and cursing."

The dismal lack of opportunity for intimate partnership affects Black women economically, socially, psychologically and even spiritually. In both the film and book versions of "Exhale," the women earnestly pray for a good man. In the book Gloria's son even loses his faith in God because God is deaf to his prayers for a man to be a father to him and a husband to his mom (McMillan 69-70). Thousands of Black women may similarly despair that their prayers go unanswered while media stereotypes provide blame-the-victim pabulum such as that the pious, maternal Mammy who has no need for the love and support of a man because she is an asexual zombie. The loose Jezebel and the castrating Sapphire could not reasonably expect their prayers to be answered, considering their sinful natures.

Nearly all of the women (88 percent) and most of the men (58 percent) said they felt that the film realistically portrayed (some/many) Black men and was NOT an example of Black male bashing. However, two thirds of those women, strongly agreed that "Exhale" was a realistic film that did not Black-male-bash, whereas only 25 percent of the men, who self-selected to participate in this group, felt as strongly. In fact, a third of the men in the group vehemently asserted that the film was a derogatory fiction, aimed at denigrating Black men unfairly. In one of the follow-up group's self-generated discussion questions, 80 percent of the women and 100 percent of the men agreed that "'Exhale' portrayed Black men as dogs" however the group did not care to hash out whether that portrayal was realistic or not.

At Least Sapphire's Not Sad

The women in the group seemed to appreciate the Sapphire stereotypes in "Exhale" as a cathartic release of their own anger at all the men who had "dogged" them. Some of the men in the group, were outraged that Black men were depicted as doing the things that invoked Black women's fury. Sapphire is a stereotype epitomized by, and named for, the angry, castrating wife of Kingfish in the radio and television series "Amos and Andy." Sapphire is, "...iron-willed, effectual, (and) treacherous toward and contemptuous of Black men" (Bond & Perry 113).

A Sapphiric episode in the film, that is absent from the book, is Robin's resolution of her relationship with Russell. Rather than confronting married, drug using and handsome Russell for what he has done wrong and tell him what he will have to do, if he wants to be part of his child's life later, Robin tells him she is pregnant with his child and that neither of them need him. She slams the door in his face. Russell does behave badly throughout the relationship and especially when he discovers Robin reading a book on childbirth. However, she intends to also punish her baby for the sins of the father, by locking the father out of their child's life.

The Sapphire's problematic manner of expressing anger is unfortunately "embraced as one of the few 'positive' traits available for Black Women...aggression is used to mask the appearance of vulnerability...(and) represents the only avenue for the expression of rage and dissatisfaction (West 461)." Homogeneous African American audiences are particularly expressive because of the call and response nature of the cultural communication dynamic. Black women, squeezed close together in theaters across the country cheered when Robin, Bernadine and Savannah metamorphosed into monstrous Sapphires because rage and aggression are preferable to the despair of continued victimhood.

African American female audience members cheered when Savannah turns Sapphire with Kenneth when she breaks up with him. In the book version, during their telephone break up. Savannah is less of a Sapphire. She does tell Kenneth to "leave (her) the fuck alone," and hangs up on him twice (McMillan 383-6). However in the film Savannah curses Kenneth directly, spills ice water in his lap and says that she would not trust him if he did divorce. In the book she tells Kenneth to divorce his wife first before pursuing their relationship any further and then she stops answering his phone calls.

Though Black women cheered wildly at Savannah's Sapphiric film version of the breakup, it is clear that Sapphire's anger is only laudable when it is turned on a man. When Savannah gets angry at her mother for pressuring Savannah to continue the affair with Kenneth, Savannah says the word "damn" and hangs up on her mother. A Montgomery premiere theatre audience audibly gasped. In two seconds Savannah redeems herself by calling back her mother to apologize, saying she will never disrespect her mother again. The audience exhaled.

Good Mammy Versus Bad Jezebel

The only supposedly "good" stereotype of Black women in the media and role for Black women in the Black patriarchal community, is that of the Mammy. There was considerable heated discussion in the focus groups about the badness of the three Jezebel characters (Savannah, Bernadine and Robin) and the goodness of the Mammy character (Gloria). It was the men of the focus group and the oldest woman, who made this judgment and make it adamantly.

All the participants demonstrated some concern about the depiction of the main characters' sexuality, whether they judged the depiction real, unreal, good or bad. The younger women insisted the depiction was real and good. The older female participant and most of the men insisted that the relative promiscuity of three of the four main characters, was unreal and even if it were real. . .was bad. This notion enforces the Black patriarchal structure of the Black community.

Gloria is the "highly maternal, family oriented and self-sacrificing" (West 459) Mammy. Though not so described in the book, in the film version of "Exhale," Gloria is the darkest of the four women, with the most stereotypically West-African features. Guy-Sheftall calls this casting, pandering to skin-color politics where the "'beautiful' women are lighter-skinned and thin (Exhaling 120).

Parallel to the book version, Gloria is also plump, a compulsive overeater and an over-protective, single mother. She is the one who begs her friends to eschew anger and deny themselves sexual gratification. She chastises them for seeking sex even if no appropriate man for committed relationship is available. In the film Gloria is shown as a regular church member, whereas the other principles are depicted as Easter-Christmas church-goers. In Exhale the book, Gloria rarely goes to church as a teenager or an adult (McMillan 98).

Gloria selflessly serves the needs of others and is imprisoned by the Mammy stereotype that does not allow her to be vulnerable, fearful, desirable or desirous. As Bernadine says in defense of her one night stand with a married man, "I'm not like you Gloria. I need someone to hold me."

Gloria can not express the desire for physical intimacy and uses her service to others to fend off the resultant despair. This psychologically unhealthy (West 460) sublimate is not only praised but required, in the Black patriarchal community. "(T)he black man who had once look upon black women as devalued property could (elevate her) to the stature of respected wife and mother...(and promise) protection and consideration in exchange for submission (hooks 110-1).

A significant difference between the complete Mammy stereotype and Gloria in "Exhale," is socio-economic. Mammies serve the community, usually not even their own communities, as maids, wet nurses, nannies and cooks. However, Gloria owns the type of business that is at the very center of African American women's culture--the head shop. Also Gloria is a central character with a family and a life of her own. Older versions of this stereotype have the Mammy as a functional brown breast, in service to a White family, with no interest in her own family or community (as in the classic "Gone With the Wind," the maid in "Driving Miss Daisy," Nell Carter's television character in "Gimme a Break").

In Exhale the book, Gloria finds true love simply by being her warm, neighborly self, and open to the affections of an older man (In the book version, Marvin is in his 50's). She already knows she will let her son, Tarik, go on tour, if he will work to earn a portion of the cost. However in the film "Exhale," it was Gloria's piousness and the ultimate sacrifice of letting her son go to Spain, that were rewarded with true love which the stereotypical Mammy was never allowed. No matter the reason, for the Mammy to find love is a significant variation from the strict stereotype because Mammies are supposedly fulfilled by an intrinsic joy of service and lack of personhood.

The film's moral though, is that a Mammy's sacrificing intimacy and sex for a decade and even giving up the continued companionship of her son, as her man friend has told her she should, is rewarded with the love a good man. Despite the implicit threat and continued devaluation of Black women, this morality tale may give hope to many Black women who identify with Gloria and still pray that there is a way to earn a relationship despite the statistics, regardless of the sacrifice of some of their selfhood.

Most of the group (76 percent of the women and 58 percent of the men) agreed that the women in the film were NOT "skeezers and 'ho's who could only think about sex," or Jezebels. An even greater percentage (88 percent of the women and 75 percent of the men) said they did NOT think that the film "Waiting to Exhale" "...let White America think that Black women are oversexualized, always hot and ready."

This sentiment expressed in both groups seemed in conflict with the second focus group that asked itself to react to the statement, "Good black women with values don't have sex outside committed relationships." Sixty percent of the women and all of the men agreed.

The loose, ever-ready Jezebel myth was used to rationalize and justify the mass rape of generations of Black women and girls. Such stereotypes persist in the current era. When then World Heavy Weight Boxing Champion Mike Tyson was convicted of raping 18-year-old Deseriee Washington, Black men and women rallied around the rapist rather than the victim. During the controversy, a Black journalist in Los Angeles said, "'You cannot rape a Black woman.' He drew this conclusion from personal experience explaining how he 'scored' on some first dates while being rebuffed on others (Fanning 12)."

The media image of the Black woman as Jezebel, one who is not virginal but on the contrary desires and initiates sex, often outside of marriage (West 462) reinforces the dangerous myth that a Black woman can not be raped because she never wants to say no to sex with anyone, anywhere (West 462, Wyatt 92, Wilson 93).

However, empirical evidence suggests that in America, Black women are more frequently victims of rape, attempted rape and child sexual abuse, across all race and age groups (Wyatt 507). African American women are the least likely of any other race woman to win a rape conviction (West 463). Moreover, when a Black woman does win a conviction, her rapist, whether White or Black, is likely to be sentenced to less time than a man who raped any other race woman (Study A42).

In "Exhale" three out of the four principles, Robin, Bernadine and Savannah, are all Jezebels, who find their power only by becoming Sapphires.

Again, probably to increase the cross-over White box office,

> "the only healthy love relationship in the film is the one Wesley Snipes (James Wheeler) the civil rights attorney, reports about his White wife, whom he loves and supports as she dies of cancer...(However in the novel) that marriage was on the rocks and...James was contemplating divorce...One wonders why in the film, the only love that a Black man openly expresses is for a White woman." (Exhaling 22)

Bernadine begins as a jilted, raging Sapphire and becomes an adulterous Jezebel, only after: burning her husband's clothes and BMW, selling off the rest of his possessions for one dollar each and slapping his White mistress after Bernadine rages into an otherwise all-White board meeting at her husband's company that she helped him start. Again the African American women in the audience cheered at each Sapphiric explosion, in a cathartic release of their own frustration and despair.

Perhaps this self-selected focus group did not contain those with the heart to, after their condemnation of sexually liberated Black women's behavior, to call a spade a spade, or in this case, a Jezebel a Jezebel, because of an aversion to name calling, or naming what they felt, was their own behavior, despite the severe moral standard imposed on Black women by the patriarchal Black community, fighting both the stigma of the perception and the fear of the reality, of Jezebel.

The Word Versus the Window

One male discussant said he regretted that "the good men in the film did not get enough credit," though he felt the good male characters were dealt with more thoroughly in the book. Nearly 60 percent of the participants had read the novel. Of those who had read the book, over 80 percent of the both the women and men agreed that, "The book was much better than the film because it showed other aspects of the main character's lives."

In the book, Michael is an executive in another department whereas Robin is the lower echelon underwriter. In the book Robin "fires"

Michael as her lover. She does not have the power to fire him from his job. In the film Michael purposefully undermines Robin in a meeting in front of her mostly White subordinates at work. In the book Michael makes a sincere effort to improve his poor love making and is very generous to Robin. In the book, it is Robin who can not move past the lack of chemistry, or perhaps her own superficiality, to stay in relationship with Michael.

The film's Robin is a Jezebel when she wears sexually suggestive clothes, even to work and pauses to drink-in Black and White men's ogling her lustfully. She also has no compunction about having affairs with married men. However in the book Exhale Robin and Savannah purposefully avoid married men (McMillan 171, 207, 258, 263). Again the film version of Exhale oversexualizes and de-moralizes these Black women.

For Robin as Jezebel, as we saw for Gloria as Mammy, one contrast to the complete stereotype in Exhale is economic. Though Robin lives in a small apartment, she is an insurance company marketing executive with the Sapphiric power to hire and fire wayward lovers. The true Jezebel uses her sexuality to gain material goods, rather than committed relationship as Robin does. In the book version Robin is deeply in debt largely because of student loans, helping her aging parents and outstanding loans she makes to, or co-signs for boyfriends. The Mammy is a free servant. The true Jezebel is the hot, kept courtesan. No one keeps Robin, Bernie or Savannah. On the contrary, they help themselves and others financially.

The Jezebel stereotype of Black women in the media is even more damaging than the over-sexualized media stereotypes of White women: the whore with a golden heart, the gold digger or the dumb blond. Jezebel is not just bartering with her body for material goods but has a supposedly insatiable sexual desire. Jezebel's heart is never even mentioned and she is portrayed more as an animal in estrus than a beautiful human being with a low IQ.

There is evidence in the film to suggest that Black women have internalized the Jezebel stereotype (hooks 99) and Black patriarchal oppression of Black women. For example, in the film, Savannah contemplates taking other women's men when she sits down at a table of strangers, during a New Year's Eve celebration. In the book version, she just wants a group to sit with while she looks for her blind date. The women at the table give her a cold shoulder because they assume any unescorted (read Jezebel because what lady goes anywhere unescorted?) "Sistah" would steal their men.

Savannah as Jezebel, in both book and film, at least momentarily tolerates the jazz of a gigolo (Lionel) in the hopes that she will get the first sex she has had in five months. However in the book version, Lionel is the entrepreneur Savannah's sister has set her up with, though he turns out to be a pretender. Lionel, in the book version, is also Savannah's last resort to help her move to Phoenix, after so-called friends leave her high and dry. Again, in the film version, Savannah is the truer immoral Jezebel, when she gets involved with a married man, Kenneth, for the second time in her life. In the book version, Kenneth was not married the first time they were involved.

Bernadine, the last of the Jezebel/Sapphire characters in "Exhale," decided not to choose celibacy even before her difficult divorce proceedings were over.

Again in cross-gender agreement, this time unanimously, all participants were "glad to see a film where Black women (were) not drug addicts or prostitutes." Though the Jezebel stereotype was predominant in "Exhale," these viewers appreciated the small improvement on the traditionally more negative stereotype.

Implications for Future Research

Discussion was animated in both groups, leaving participants asking for more time to discuss the issues raised in the film such as:

- "single and married Black women saw the film differently"

Future research may explore the differences between the "privileged" married Black women versus the unmarried and never married Black women and how their marriage status may affect their media engagement and preferences.

- "the issue of Black males' dating white women" and the related issues of

- Black women's not dating White men and whether it is Black women's (not Black men's) responsibility to date only Black men "to heal the race."

It may be interesting to study the content and context of television and film representation of Black men married to White women and that of White men married to Black women and study reflected differences in media engagement.

SUMMARY

This potent, volatile movie continues to impact the film and video industry, as well as the fabric of Black women's psyche and intimate relationships in the Black community. The film's title is used in regular conversation among Black baby boomers and Generation Xers alike. If one is "exhaling," one thinks one is in love with a good man in a stable relationship (Dunbar 96). If a sister is "waiting to exhale" she is still dateless and desiring love. If one says one "is (emphatically) not gonna' wait to exhale," she means that though without a mate, she is concentrating on what else may be at least partially rewarding in her life--friends, family, work, church. In the book, Gloria "divided her attention among God, hair and her son" (McMillan 71) but even for the Mammy Gloria, salvation, styles and offspring were not enough.

The three persistent negative stereotypes of Black women in the media, Mammy - asexual, selfless nurturer who loves to serve, Sapphire-raging, castrating bitch and Jezebel - worthless slut were well represented in "Exhale," more so in the film, than in the book. Based on two focus groups comprised of 29 predominantly single, unmarried, young African Americans, this study found that viewing the film gave participants a sense of racial solidarity. Among the women, it created a closer bond, or the means for creating closer friendship bonds between Black women. Participants were divided in their opinions of whether "Exhale" was a uniquely African American saga or whether it's universal themes predominated.

Participants did use reality as a criteria in making value judgments about the film creation and images. Painfully limited romantic and dating options for many college educated, 20-40 year-old

Black women, created an intense perception, in this audience segment, of the film's veracity and worth. Perhaps because of their greater dating options, African American male participants felt the film did not realistically portray the majority of Black men and devalued the film on this basis.

Male and older participants were more likely to express severe negative criticism of the three sexually active main characters, perhaps as an expression of the intense disapproval non-submissive, non-chaste Black women face in both the Black and White patriarchal communities. Depiction of Sapphire aspects of the main characters were disapproved of by both male and female participants but female participants still said they enjoyed the cathartic experience of seeing the filmic characters express an anger they feel forbidden to them, in their lives regarding the men who have mistreated them.

All participants agreed that in the transformation from novel to film, crucial elements that would have better represented the Black female principles and the Black male supporting actors, were lost. Despite its perceived short comings, middle-class African American women participants found respite in "Exhale" because they were no longer so invisible on the big screen, even if what they saw in that mirror may also make them sad.

In the Black community, when a man marries and supports a woman, so that she does not have to work as hard to fulfill her complex social roles, it is said the man has "set her down." This means she does not have to stand, labor, run, all alone, all the time. She can sit down. She can exhale. But if African American wait for this opportunity, fully a quarter of them will die of suffocation, never be able to breathe. Savannah decided to ease her despair by focusing on her own talents, character and the love of good friends. She decided not to hold her breath, even if she may never "sit down." Perhaps the women who so intensely identified with this film, also decided to stand and breathe.

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Gender, beauty, and Western influence: Negotiated femininity in Japanese women's magazines

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A long tradition of Western feminist works concentrates on the representation of female attractiveness in cultural texts. But if Mary Wollstonecraft recognized the significance of our socialization into gendered bodies—accomplished in part through the use of beauty ideals—as early as 1792, the white Western feminist establishment only recently began to acknowledge the importance of the fact that representations of the body are also shaped by racist and classist ideologies. Led by Third World feminists and members of marginalized groups in the West, feminist scholars are attempting to develop an understanding of how different forms of oppression, including race, gender, class, sexual orientation, and disability, are mutually constitutive (Alcoff, 1995; Harding, 1990; hooks, 1990; Thomson, 1997).

Such an effort has prompted feminist scholars to consider the possible implications for women of the much discussed process of globalization of communication technologies. Examined in a cross-cultural context, constructions of female attractiveness promoted by an increasingly global advertising machine might thus be understood to not only contribute to women's oppression, but also to be an instrument of Western cultural influence (Bordo, 1993; Chapkis, 1986).

If a critical understanding of the interrelated roles of ethnicity, class, and gender is crucial to the development of a politically effective feminist agenda, the introduction of a feminist standpoint into analyses of Western cultural dominance is also long overdue (Steeves, 1993). The importance of gender relations in international politics has generally been ignored, or only given lip service, in debates on cultural expansionism. Cynthia Enloe (1989) notes, however, that the current state of international relations rests in part on traditional gender constructions, as women's roles as consumers, wives, and unskilled workers are central to the maintenance of the international status quo.

This analysis is an attempt to assess the impact of Western cultural influence on the representation of female attractiveness in Japanese women's magazines. I chose to focus on Japanese cultural texts because Japan—as a non-Western culture with a First World economy—finds itself in a unique position on the international scene. While Japan cannot be considered economically subordinate to the West, it's long history of active Western cultural importation, and occasional direct intervention, makes it a prime candidate for an investigation of Western cultural influence. As Mattelart (1984) notes, despite its leadership position in the production of the world economy, Japan plays only a minor role in the "world culture" (220). The case of Japan is particularly significant in light of current theoretical debates around issues of "cultural imperialism." While McAnany and Wilkinson (1992) argue that "the concerns about [U.S.] cultural dominance, whether it is termed *imperialism, hegemony*, or something else, is still an ongoing issue in many countries" (730, emphasis in the text), other scholars recognize that the concept of cultural imperialism may have lost its significance in a transnational corporate world no longer dominated by the U.S. alone (Hamelink, 1993; Mattelart & Mattelart, 1984; Schiller, 1993). As interpretations and definitions of culture(s) and its role have become multiple and complex, these scholars advocate a more elaborate understanding of processes of adaptation, reappropriation, and negotiation at work in global cultural production (Lull, 1995; Mattelart, 1994; Mattelart & Mattelart, 1984; Tomlinson, 1992).

It is this process that I attempt to analyze here in relationship with representations of female attractiveness. Before describing the findings of my analysis of five Japanese women's magazines, I will briefly outline feminist interpretations, both in Japan and in the West, of the significance of constructions of female attractiveness in a patriarchal cultural environment. I will also summarize the history of Western influence in Japan, in order to place the study in its proper cultural and historical context.

Japan, feminism, beauty and the media

A growing body of literature concentrates on the portrayal of women in the Japanese media. However, most of this analysis has so far tended to concentrate specifically on the roles in which women have traditionally been confined. For instance, in their study of Japanese comic magazines—a medium greatly used by pornographers and available virtually everywhere—Sean Ledden and Fred Fejes (1987) chose to focus on the representation of women in marriage and the family. Andrew Painter (1996), Margaret Lock (1996), and to some extent Midori Fukunishi Suzuki (1995), display a similar tendency.

In many respects, focusing on domesticity and motherhood may be an effective feminist agenda in a society in which women are still strongly subjected to clearly defined gender roles. The Japanese feminist movement has so far mostly worked at giving women the opportunity to move away from restrictive roles if they desire to do so—with some success, as illustrated by the adoption of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law in 1986 (Tanaka, Y., 1995) which, even though limited in its scope and the result of a compromise with conservative forces {Kawashima, 1995 #311; Buckley, 1993 #285}, may spurr a change in percpetions of appropriate female roles {Upham, 1993 #286; Hunter, 1989 #114}. Japanese feminist scholars, as well as Western scholars doing research on Japan, are nevertheless recognizing the need to broaden the scope of gender analysis in their country (Tanaka, K., 1995). As Theodore Bestor (1985) notes, "the proper study of Japanese gender must not be confined to those domains in which women play highly visible roles" (284). In recent years, Japanese feminists have consequently increased the spectrum of their analysis to include studies of the impact of pornography, prostitution, and domestic violence. However, according to Mioko Fujieda and Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow (1995) such issues have not yet been "explored and researched fully by academic scholars" (175).

Japanese feminist scholars are also starting to recognize the role of the media in perpetuating oppressive representations of the female body. As Kazuko Tanaka (1995) notes, "the commercialization of women's sexuality through magazines, television programs and advertisements has become increasingly more visible over the last decade" (351). In her analysis of Japanese television Suzuki (1995) also finds a clear increase in objectifying images of the female body in recent years. She further identifies a disturbing trend toward younger and more sexual ideals of female attractiveness which parallels a similar trend in pornography. Speaking from a more radical feminist standpoint, Kuniko Funabashi (1995) takes a critical look at the use of pornographic images in advertising. After pointing out that standards of female beauty promoted in the Japanese media are "one-sidedly defined by the male-dominated culture" she notes that, "Given the inequality of male-female relations in contemporary society, the dictation of uniform standards of beauty results in the enslavement of every woman. . . . [I]t is tantamount to a violation of their bodies and thus is an act of sexual violence in itself" (260).

Her analysis is reminiscent of the works of Western feminist scholars on the role played by constructions of the female body and femininity in justifying women's oppression. These scholars argue that in Western cultures, Enlightenment and Christian ideologies are used to construct the female body as deviant from the human—male—norm (Dallery, 1989; Frye, 1983; Haase-Dubosc, 1995). Such a construction serves in turn to define women as an inferior "Other" and support an androcentric view of culture (Bem, 1993; Berman, 1989; de Beauvoir, 1976; Dimen, 1989).

Despite such similarities, little Japanese feminist research has concentrated on the influence of Western concepts—promoted in the increasingly international media—on Japanese cultural constructions of the female body. While some scholars have recognized that the increased emphasis on sexuality and attractiveness in the Japanese media may be linked to the spread of the sexual revolution started in the West in the 1960s (Funabashi, 1995; Suzuki, 1995; Tanaka, 1995a), few Japanese scholars have focused on the possibly culturally hegemonic aspects of such a representation.

Analyses of the significance of ethnicity and class in the representation of female attractiveness in the U.S. suggest, however, that women of color have to contend with racist as well as sexist ideology when negotiating their own representation (Bordo, 1993; hooks, 1992; Lakoff & Scherr, 1984; Ling, 1989; MacKinnon, 1989; Mercer, 1994). Some women simply cannot fit into the—white upper class—standard of femininity promoted by the Western media. Furthermore, the appearance in recent years of women of different ethnic and racial backgrounds on the media palette of representations of attractiveness, has done little to challenge racist ideology. Attracted by the potential market value of different racial and ethnic representations, the media nevertheless reinscribe such imagery into the dominant ideology (Consalvo, 1997). According to hooks (1992) "this new representation is a response to contemporary fascination with an ethnic look, with the exotic Other who promises to fulfill racial and sexual stereotypes, to satisfy longings" (73, see also, Berry, 1996; Bordo, 1993; Chapkis, 1986; Freedman, 1986). Sadly, as Laurel Davis (1997) reminds us, "Most of us are so well schooled in the dominant beauty ideal that we take it for granted, viewing it as natural, universal, and bias-free" (91).

Extensive research remains to be done on the impact of Western representations of female attractiveness in an inter-cultural context. As suggested above, the meaning for young Japanese women of representations of female attractiveness needs to be examined in relationship with current developments in technologies of communication, which have brought about an increasing globalization of media images. As D.A. Leslie (1995) notes, beauty advertising is one of the most "global" forms of advertising today. The significance of the creation of a transnational multiracial—and possibly multiracist—representation of femininity through fashion and beauty advertising by both Western and Japanese advertisers (Chapkis, 1986) has of yet been given little attention.

While a number of scholars have noted that Japanese women's magazines indeed largely rely on Westernized images of female beauty (Condon, 1985; Rosenberger, 1996), numerous questions regarding the specific nature of Western influence in such publications remain unexplored. Exactly how extensive is the reliance on Western standards of beauty in Japanese magazines? To what extent are Western beauty images "Easternized" in Japanese publications? What are the markers of East and West in women's magazines? Do representations of Japanese femininity differ in any way from representations of Western femininity? Before I attempt to address these questions, an examination of the history of Western influence in Japan is necessary to ground this analysis in its proper context.

Western influence in Japan: from Meiji to World War II

In 1854, Commodore Matthew Perry's fleet forced Japan to open its doors to the West. For nearly two centuries, Japan had been allowed to live in seclusion, partly because Western colonizers considered it to have little to offer. As Peter Duus (1976) explains, "In contrast to India and China, Japan remained outside the imagination of most Westerners, a little known country with no exotic appeal and hardly any practical significance. It was only in the last decade of the eighteenth century that, largely for economic and commercial reasons, the expanding horizons of the Western world began to converge on Japan" (56). Over the next few years, Japan was pressured to sign a series of trade treaties with Western powers basically giving Western traders free access to the Japanese market. Made aware of its military and economic vulnerability, Japan embarked on a process of modernization based on a Western model (Hunter, 1989; Shively, 1971).

Following the Meiji Restoration of 1868, which marked the end of the isolationist Tokugawa[1] regime, the new government of Japan attempted to justify its rise to power by striving to catch up with Western definitions of civilization. Japanese government leaders saw Westernization as the most effective means to compete with the West and have a chance to repeal the unequal treaties they had been pressured to sign {Boyle, 1993 #298}. They encouraged the development of manufacturing and industries by importing industrial technology from the West and relying on foreign experts. They also attempted to encourage the growth of a native capitalist class by establishing national banks (Duus, 1976; Kaneko, 1995). Japanese leaders became enamored of Enlightenment ideals perceived as the only means to resist the Western threat. They argued that importing technology from the West would not be enough and believed that Japan could become a truly modern state only if it underwent a revolution in ideas and values. Government officials travelled to America and Europe and relied on Western authors to develop a spirit of freedom and independence [Boyle, 1993 #298]. Western food, fashion, and architecture also swept through the upper strata of the Japanese society starting in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

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[1] Tokugawa (1600-1868) refers to the period in Japanese history when the Tokugawa family dominated the country politically. "Mieji," and "Tokugawa" are reign names assigned by the Emperors whose lives they encompass.

The Japanese modernization process is often described as as a revolution from above [Duus, 1998 #308; Duus, 1976 #100]. While Japan was never territorially colonized, its leaders decided to promote a process of "self-Westernization" in order to avoid the threat of more direct influence. Rather than being subjected to the form of long term and ongoing colonization process suffered by numerous "Third World" nations, Japan was allowed to maintain its economic integrity at least until the Meiji Restoration. Instead of entering Japan through direct military intervention, the West penetrated Japanese society by becoming part of its cultural imaginary. Rey Chow (1993) notes a similar pattern in China where imperialism also took the form of an obsession to become the West's "equal." She argues that the apparent absence of the "enemy" in East Asia does not mean that East Asian countries were spared from cultural imperialism. In some ways, the distance separating Japan from the West might have made Western influence more powerful by magnifying Japanese fascination with Western ideology and increasing its fear of colonization.

The Japanese process of modernization included the complete reorganization of the country's education system, based on a French model (Nagai, 1971), as well as the adoption of Western communication technologies (Kato, 1978). Here again, the process of Westernization was not only technological, but also cultural, as the adoption of Western technological models also led to the adoption of supporting institutions similar to those of the West (Westney, 1990). Japan learned the Western lesson so well that it itself soon became aggressively imperialist toward its neighbors until its World War II defeat brought it back under American domination.

The years under American occupation were a period of much more direct Western influence, which Duus describes as a form of "benevolent colonialism" (239). The General

Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) started by replacing the Meiji constitution with a new political system based on American and British models (Thomas, 1996). MacArthur also completely reorganized the education system, and the Japanese media fell into the hands of SCAP which "adopted direct control by means of 'advice' and 'suggestions' to those in communications" (Kato, 1978). SCAP abolished the restrictive laws and regulations on communication which had been in effect under the old regime and established a new Japanese journalism on the principles of freedom of speech and the press. The "Canons of Journalism" established in 1946 by the Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association stressed an ideology very similar to that guiding American journalism, including objectivity, fairness, and "the spirit of freedom" (Kato, 32).

Such freedom had its limitations, however, under American occupation. The Japanese media were given a "press code" for news reporting which prohibited any news report "which was unfavorable to the occupation forces and their politics" (Kato, 18). Unfavorable reports included car accidents, rapes, or any act of violence involving occupation personnel. The Japanese broadcasting system was also reorganized by experts trained in the United States who set the scene for the introduction of commercial radio stations. Thus, as Marilyn Ivy (1993) notes in her essay on the formation of mass culture in Japan, "The historical accident that the United States, the original and prototypical mass culture, was the dominant occupying power determined the structures that later Japanese cultural industries were to assume" (245).

As the cold war developed, the U.S. started to see Japan as a potential ally in Asia against the spread of communism. America's decision to turn Japan into the workshop of Asia (Dower, 1971) further intensified the process of Westernization, as well as Japan's economic recovery. Again, not everyone in Japan agreed that siding with the U.S. was the best course of action, but Premier Shigeru Yoshida decided that the advantages of American friendship outweighed the disadvantages of Soviet hostility. The peace treaty signed by the U.S. and Japan in 1951 ensured the former a means of securing American supremacy in the Pacific and the latter a road toward economic recovery. The American plan to rebuild Japan into a strong ally in Asia worked. As John Dower wrote in 1971, "To [Americans], Japan is proof of American wisdom, idealism, and benevolence; proof of the exportability of the American way of life; proof of American understanding of Asian problems and Asian personality" (146).

The years of Western influence have necessarily had some impact on the social structure of the Japanese society. As noted above, the Meiji restoration not only involved an intense importation of technology and expertise from the West, but also the adoption of Enlightenment ideology perceived as necessary to modernization by Japanese leaders. Similarly, the reconstruction of the country after World War II was social as well as economic. By the end of the war, Japan was not only physically ruined, but its social fabric had been destroyed (Thomas, 1996). MacArthur's reorganization of the political and educational systems aimed at rebuilding Japan on grounds less threatening to the West than the old regime had been. The introduction of a democratic system and of Western standards in education and the media affected the course of the evolution of the Japanese culture (Eisenstadt, 1996).

Evidence suggests that representations of female attractiveness were among the cultural forms affected by Western influence. While at the beginning of the Meiji period blackened teeth, heavily powdered neck and face, shaved eyebrows and small rouged lips were in fashion (1987), such standards quickly faded under Western influence to be replaced by Western techniques and cosmetics. As Hiroshi Wagatsuma (1974) notes in his analysis of the evolution of the social perception of beauty in Japan, "In the early Meiji period, the Japanese began their self-conscious imitation of the technology of the West. Less consciously, they also began to alter their perception of feminine beauty" (59). Wagatsuma argues that by the mid-1920s the Japanese had adopted Western customs and fashions and that popular American motion picture stars became the new models of female attractiveness. He points out that "During this period many women had their hair cut and, in spite of the exhortations of proud *samurai* tradition[2], waved and curled" (59). While ties with Western fads were severed by the militarist regime in the mid-1930s, post-World War II American influence brought Western styles—including Caucasian facial structure and hair style—back in fashion (Creighton, 1995; Kon, 1969; Wagatsuma, 1974).

Globalization in the 1990s: Is this domination?

Today's increasingly global advertising machine dominated by U.S. firms is unlikely to reverse this trend since the women's market for beauty, fashion, and health care is one of the markets with the "most global orientation" (Leslie, 1995, 416). Japanese cosmetic and advertising companies seem to agree that a more "international" look—i.e. a look without specific cultural or ethnic markers—is the strategy of the future.

While, as Peter Golding (1994) notes, the globalization process of communication technologies is sometimes conceived in the mainstream media as an empowering and egalitarian force, numerous scholars argue that the more global system is unlikely to bring increased equality and power to dominated cultures or dominated groups within nations (Ferguson, 1992; Golding, 1994). Cees Hamelink (1993) explains that "what is referred to as global communications is virtually the transnational proliferation of mass-market advertising and electronic entertainment produced by a few megacompanies" (376). Richard Maxwell (1996) argues that such companies, which penetrate thousands of localities around the globe, know how to absorb local cultural differences of value and taste into their global sales effort . Furthermore, Emile McAnany and Kenton Wilkinson (1992) suggest that despite increasing buyouts by foreign—including Japanese—firms, Hollywood still dominates the flow of cultural exports. Thus, while American popular culture has invaded every Japanese household, Americans know little about the Japanese culture (Watts, Packard, Clough, & Oxman, 1979). A similar disparity is evident in the amount of media coverage dedicated to the U.S. in Japan and Japan in the U.S. (Krauss, 1996).

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[2] The samurai tradition encouraged women to wear their hair straight and as long as possible. Hair several inches longer than the actual height of a woman was considered most attractive.

Despite the claims of these negative analyses, the incorporation of all local cultures into a Western-style global system is not a straightforward and unidimensional process. Some scholars argue that far from undermining nationalism, the increased insecurity accompanying globalization is strengthening local consciousness and reliance on nation-states (Hamelink, 1993). Nicholas Garnham (1993) points to the increased political demand for the defense of local and national cultures in the face of the growing domination of global networks. Furthermore, as Jesus Martin-Barbero (1993) notes, victims of Western cultural influence may be able to reappropriate and create new meaning and new culture-specific texts out of the Western hegemonic discourse. The Argentinean *chicha* and *rock nacional* (Martin Barbero), Chinese popular music (Chow, 1993) and Latin American telenovelas (McAnany & Pastina, 1994) have all been identified as examples of such texts. The recognition of resistance to and reappropriation of dominant cultural texts warrants a more complex understanding of power relations in today's world order. As Nestor García-Canclini (1995) notes, "new processes make the asymmetry more complex: the decentralization of corporations, the planetary simultaneity of information, and the adaptation of certain forms of knowledge and images to the knowledge and habits of each community" (229). He advocates a more flexible understanding of cultures as increasingly multicultural, hybrid and deterritorialized. Others have also warned against the tendency to idealize and attempt to protect "authentic" cultural identities defined by national and international elites against the best interests of large segments of a country's population (Lull, 1995; Mattelart & Mattelart, 1984; Tomlinson, 1992).

These points seem particularly relevant in the case of Japan. The incorporation and adaptation of Western concepts was a crucial process of negotiation in the country's search for authenticity both during the years of intense modernization (Kelly, 1993) and those of American occupation (Dower, 1993). Rather than constructing modernity and tradition as antagonistic concepts, Japanese society legitimized new influences as traditional by consciously reconstructing different dimensions of tradition in Japan (Eisenstadt, 1996)—in a perfect illustration of the process of "invented tradition" described by Tomlinson (1992, 91). Thus, far from being simply accepted and absorbed, Western influence and Western ideals were negotiated and re-interpreted in the Japanese context. The Meiji restoration itself was fueled by anti-foreign rhetoric rather than unquestioned admiration for the West [Boyle, 1993 #298]. While Japan was pressured to open up, Japanese leaders had been psychologically ready for the Perry mission and had been debating the possibility of reopening prior to Perry's arrival. The decision to Westernize stemmed from the desire to meet the Western challenge and to quickly become a leading nation. Western technologies were consequently adapted to the Japanese environment and Western ideas re-interpreted. For instance, entrepreneurs were redefined as the new samurais working for the glory of the nation. Thus, while Western influences were acknowledged in the Japanese modernization process, the particular path the country took to reach modernity was perceived as distinctly Japanese (Boyle). Ezra Vogel (1988) argues that the very ability to adapt and willingness to change ways of thinking may be a central and distinctive feature of Japanese culture. As she puts is, "[T]he most salient feature of Japan's modern history is not the commitment to any traditional belief or to Western beliefs but the pragmatic commitment to finding a balance that would sustain a strong and effective nation" (51). In fact, as the country became more Westernized Japanese leaders increasingly emphasized tradtional Japanese influences in this modernization process [Iriye, 1967 #301]. By the end of the nineteenth century, Americans who had expected that Westernization would make a culturally Western nation out of Japan saw their expectations thwart. Similarly, Eisenstadt (1996) notes that "with the great upsurge of development starting in the late 1950s, many would emphasize this economic success as rooted in distinctive characteristics of Japanese culture" (78). This emphasis on distinctive Japanese characteristics reached its apex in the 1970s phenomenon of Nihonjiron (discourse on Japaneseness), a nationalist celebration

Japanese cultural exceptionalism promoted by some of Japan's leading intellectuals (Gluck, 1993; Ivy, 1993; Kelly, 1993).

It is also important to keep in mind that Western influence might not have had the same impact on all segments of society. Japanese women have often perceived Western influence as a liberating force. As Janet Hunter (1989) notes, it is exposure to Western civilization that initially sparked concern with women's rights in Japan in the mid-nineteenth century. Japanese women gained access to education through the education reform of the Meiji period (Nagai, 1971). They were given the vote in 1946 as part of the democratization process imposed on Japan by American forces.

Japanese feminism has also been greatly influenced by Western, and particularly American, models (Sievers, 1983). According to Mioko Fujieda (1995), the influence of Christianity was a central component of women's emancipation in Japan. Prominent Japanese feminists including Kishida Toshiko, Kageyama (later Fukuda) Hideko, or Yajima Kajiko were Christian. Others traveled to the United States and were directly influenced by American feminists. For instance, Ichikawa Fusae met with Alice Paul in 1921 and upon her return to Japan funded a branch office of the International Labor Organization in Tokyo as well as the Alliance for Obtaining Suffrage for Women.

Later on, internationally renowned Western feminist figures—such as Gloria Steinem and Betty Friedan—again helped give momentum to the Japanese movement (Condon, 1985). As Fujieda and Fujimura-Fanselow (1995) note, "books on the U.S. women's movement and research in the field of women's studies . . . provided the necessary academic rhetoric and theoretical framework for addressing the issues of sexual oppression and discrimination in Japan. Many Japanese continue to look to the United States for encouragement as well as a source of information" (160). International events such as the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination or the 1975 International Women's year sponsored by the United Nations have also played an important role in pressuring the Japanese government to put women's rights on its agenda (Fujieda & Fujimura-Fanselow; Robin-Mowry, 1983). Thus, the impact of Western influence needs to be considered in relationship with other forms of domination. While resistance to Western hegemony can be a positive form of self determination, some scholars warn against the danger of celebrating "authentic" cultural forms and traditions that may be oppressive to some strata of society (Chapkis, 1986; Narayan, 1989; Oliveira, 1993).

Discussing Western influence: concerns of a European feminist

It is with those concerns in mind that I attempted to assess how Western influence is carried into contemporary Japanese publications targeted at a female audience. Far from being comprehensive, this analysis is intended as a pilot study for a larger project on Japanese women's magazines and their readers. Thanks to recent work on the ability of audiences to reinterpret and use cultural texts in ways meaningful to them (see, for example, Bird, 1992; Bobo, 1995; Brown, 1994; Brundson, 1981; Christian-Smith, 1990; Long, 1986; McRobbie, 1978; Press, 1991; Radway, 1984) I am keenly aware of the limitations of an analysis focusing only on text. Thus, rather than making assumptions about "effects" this study proposes to examine what Japanese women are being exposed to, as one step in the understanding of the interaction of gender and race in representations of female attractiveness.

Furthermore, I am aware that my position as a white middle-class European woman could be considered compromising for the completion of this study. White heterosexual Western feminists have often been criticized for not being conscious enough of issues of class, race or sexual orientation as well as for their essentializing tendencies (see for example Collins, 1990; hooks, 1990; Rakow, 1992; Tong, 1989; Valdivia, 1995). Non-Western feminist scholars have warned against the danger of white Western academics using non-Western or minority "subjects" as a means to advance their careers (Chow, 1993). They have also warned against the essentializing tendency of white Western feminists to construct non-Western women as "authentic" subjects or "non-feminist Others" (Callaghan, 1995; Lakritz, 1995; Lury, 1995; Ong, 1988; Sawhney, 1995).

Feminist theory is based on the belief that social position is epistemologically significant and the question whether one can speak for or about the Other is much discussed in feminist works (see for example, Alcoff, 1995; Awkward, 1995; Spivak, 1988). Linda Alcoff argues that no matter how well intended, speaking from a privileged position can be discursively dangerous due to the context in which speech emanates, which researchers can never fully control. I believe, however, that the possibility of speaking for, and with, others ultimately bears on the possibility of feminism's political effectiveness. While we should be wary of the potential dangers of our speech, letting our fear of criticism prevent us from engaging in coalition politics could be equally damaging (Bordo, 1989). Speaking for others is always a risk of which responsibility we cannot be absolved, yet it is a risk we must take (Elam, 1995). As a strategy for creating necessary coalitions, Susan Stanford Friedman (1995) advocates moving beyond binary understandings of race and gender—as white/non-white or male/female—to construct cultural narratives of "relational positionality" taking into account the interrelated and shifting nature of systems of domination (17). Creating such narratives might open up powerful opportunities for dialogue and alliance (Haase-Dubosc, 1995; Kaplan, 1994).

Furthermore, I believe that considering the interaction of representations of ethnicity and gender in Japanese magazines is particularly important for at least three reasons. First of all, as Japanese feminists note, little research has been conducted so far on the construction of female attractiveness in the Japanese media (Fujieda & Fujimura-Fanselow, 1995; Funabashi, 1995). Secondly, despite the increasing influence of television in Japan—which surpasses even the United States in terms of number of sets per household and hours of viewing per day—the circulation of Japanese print media hasn't declined. On the contrary, Japan is saturated with publications, particularly comic books and magazines.

with extraordinary levels of circulation (for a more detailed account of media saturation in Japan see Ito, 1995; Ivy, 1993; Krauss, 1996).

Finally, the issue of Western influence has been used against Japanese feminists accused of being mere puppets of the dominant ideology (Fujieda & Fujimura-Fanselow; Tanaka, K., 1995). Minority scholars in the West have often experienced a similar fate. As Leslie Bow (1995) notes, a feminist position might be interpreted as an act of ethnic betrayal in the Asian American community where feminism becomes a standard by which ethnic loyalties are measured. Similarly, bell hooks has been accused of committing acts of betrayal when turning her feminist critique to African American males (hooks, 1994).

Thus, a clearer understanding of the mutually constitutive nature of Western influence and gender representation—as illustrated in Japanese women's magazines—might provide Japanese feminists with new tools to resist both Western and patriarchal dominant ideology.

Western influence, beauty, and consumption: the world of Japanese women's magazines

Far from being comprehensive, this analysis is intended as a pilot study for a much larger scale project which will include a more extensive examination of Japanese magazines over a period of several years, as well as an analysis of Japanese women's own interpretations and constructions of female attractiveness to be conducted through extensive interviewing and participant observation in Japan.

I intensively focused here on the April 1997 issues of two bi-monthly—*Non-no* and *an-an*— and three monthly magazines—*Say, Vivi* and *éf.* I also conducted a more general analysis of 12 issues of *Non-no* spread over a two year period and six issues of *an-an* spread over a one year period. The publications examined are all targeted at women between the ages of 18 and 27 and have a circulation of over 500,000 according to their publishers. They are all published in Japan and are in Japanese language, even though they do use some English for titles and emphasis—mostly for design purposes as I will later discuss. I chose these particular magazines because they were identified by young Japanese women I interviewed in the United States as some of the most popular in Japan[3]. I consequently believe these magazines can be considered to be representative of the genre attempting to capture the young single female audience.

My first viewing of the magazines consisted of a general overview aimed at determining the overall format and feel of the publications. This viewing included all issues of *Non-no* and *an-an* (17 issues total) as well as the magazines selected for my "sample month." This viewing revealed that the magazines were extremely similar to each other and from one issue to the next. They featured similar layouts and designs, similar advertising and editorial styles and often used the same ads and models in fashion spreads. The covers of *an-an* differed from that of other magazines by not always featuring a female model—one cover featured different objects as in a catalog, another the interior of an apartment, and a third a fashions spread. *an-an* also distinguished itself by being the only magazine using heterosexual couples on some of its covers (two issues) and even a male model alone. However, the content of *an-an* was similar to that of the other publications examined.

I then conducted a more in-depth examination of the April 1997 issue of each magazine focusing on all photographs and illustrations in both advertising and editorial content, as well as on the topics covered in feature stories[4]. While I did not intend to conduct a "content analysis" of the publications but rather aimed at developing a critical understanding of the kind of imagery Japanese women are exposed to in their everyday lives, I found myself compelled to describe the magazines' content in order to allow my Western readers to develop a feel for these publications. I generally faced the problem of investigating texts which my readers were likely to be entirely unfamiliar with. Japanese women's magazines are largely unavailable in the United States—I had to have a Japanese friend mail me the sample I used for this study. How could I then help my readers form a mental picture of publications they had never seem? I decided that starting with a few numbers would be a useful way to paint a quick sketch of these texts. While this study is certainly a qualitative investigation, and while the numbers are in no way included here to give this analysis a aura of "objectivity"—as I hope I have made clear, I believe all knowledge is situated—I felt that most Western readers, influenced as we are by our cultures' obsession with quantification, would probably be more readily able to form a clear mental picture of a percentage than of a qualitative description. Since I was not able to include entire magazines with this paper and since my readers were unlikely to ever have had—or ever gain—access to the publications I was examining I decided that I had to attempt to communicate the significant characteristics of these magazines in every possible way available to me. Furthermore, as an interdisciplinary scholar, I believe that challenging dichotomies between discipline, such as the one between qualitative and quantitative mass communication research, is a useful exercise. Thus, there I go with a few numbers.

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[3] *Non-no* and *an-an* were identified as the two most popular magazine among young Japanese women (they were deemed equally popular), *Vivi* placed second, and *éf* and *Say* tied in third place.

[4] Even though I make a distinction here between advertising and editorial content, this distinction is somewhat artificial. Most of what is defined here as editorial content is actually supporting material for the products advertised in the pages of the magazines—mostly fashion spreads and features on how to apply makeup. This link between advertising and editorial content is certainly not a specifically Japanese phenomenon. I has been well documented in the West (see, for example, Steinem, 1995).

East and West

One does not have to look far to find hints of Western influence in Japanese women's magazines: two (*Say* and *Non-no*) out of the five magazines examined for this study had a picture of a white women on their cover—this was not an aberration due to sample size, as 50 percent of the models appearing on the cover of *Non-no* in the two-year sample were also white. Generally, white models were quite popular in these Japanese publications. Forty-seven percent[5] of all the ads in *Vivi*[6] featured white models, compared to approximately 46 percent in *éf*, 41 percent in *Non-no*, 31 percent in *an-an*, and 17 percent in *Say*. The percentages in editorial content were approximately 22 percent in *Vivi*,

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[5] Models appearing several times in the same ad, on the same page, or as part of one feature story, were counted only once.

[6] *Vivi* also included an exclusively white six-page insert which was not counted as it was not technically part of the magazine.

36 percent in *éf*, 33 percent in *Non-no*, 35 percent in *an-an*, and 11 percent in *Say*. The lower incidence of white models in *Say* might be explained by the fact that it is targeted at a slightly older audience than the other magazines examined here and includes more feature stories and fewer ads.

Aside from a lower incidence of white models in editorial content, this analysis also revealed a subtle difference between ads and editorial copy in the kind of models used. Images of white women seemed to have undergone a process of "Easternization" when created as part of a feature story. While white models in advertising tended to be the typical blond beauties of Western media—about 81 percent—the physical features of Western models appearing in editorial content were closer to those of their Japanese counterparts (the proportion of "blond" to "non-blond" was about 49 percent). For example, a *Non-no* spread on agnès b. clothing featured four models, two of them Asian and two of them Western (8). At first sight, however, the ethnic origin of the two Western models was difficult to distinguish, as both women had dark straight hair and dark eyes, wore clothing similar in style to that of the Japanese models and were photographed in similar poses. One of the most obvious differentiating factors on the page was the name of the city each woman came from, which revealed their ethnic origin, as different alphabets are used for foreign and Japanese or Chinese names in the Japanese language. Often, white models in editorial content were also represented in extremely childlike poses and clothing which, as I will later discuss, are a central component of the construction of femininity and sexiness in Japan. For example, a childlike white woman with flowers in her hair wearing what looked like a night gown appeared along with a similarly clad Japanese model on the cover of *Say*. The two models were made up in exactly the same fashion, and aside from her slightly lighter hair and the shape of her eyes, the white model looked exactly like her Japanese counterpart.

If Western women were to some extent Easternized in the pages of Japanese women's magazines, Japanese women were also clearly Westernized. The majority of female models appearing in photographs had very light skin, particularly in advertising. This general trend toward a "whiter" look in advertising appears to support Wendy Chapkis' (1986) claim that Japanese advertisers are Westernizing their ads in response to the demands of today's global market. Even in editorial content, however, Western facial features and characteristics were emphasized. For instance, in each of the magazines, several photographs made models appear as if they had blue eyes by capturing the reflection of clothing in the model's eyes. This practice was particularly obvious in *Vivi* and *Non-non*. Sometimes, the fact that Japanese beauty standards were inspired by Western models was clearly acknowledged in the publications. One fashion spread in *Vivi* featured Japanese models imitating the styles of Western movie stars. The Japanese reader was presented with Masayo's "Bardot style, " Viviane's "Audrey [Hepburn]'s style" and so on.

Constructions of femininity: the young thin ideal

In many ways, the standards of attractiveness Japanese readers were exposed to were very similar to those promoted in Western publications—often through the use of internationally renowned white models, such as Kate Moss. Japanese women were portrayed as facing the same set of concerns as Western women—i.e. wrinkled skin, unruly hair, chipped nails, and, of course, unwanted fat cells. Weight loss was particularly emphasized. The Japanese magazines included an amazing number of ads for weight loss programs or thinning cream—57 out of a total of 231 pages in *an-an* (or about 25 percent), 65 out of 382 (17 percent of the entire magazine) in *Vivi*, 40 out of 315 (13 percent) in *Non-no*, 23 out of 212 (11 percent) in *Say*. *Ef* was the exception with only six pages of ads out of 201.

Furthermore, the women in the ads were held to extremely astringent standards of slenderness. Pages after pages of ads featured "before" and "after" photographs of quasi anorexic young women to prove the effectiveness of various thinning methods. *Vivi* featured a women 168 centimeters (5'6") tall who—having lost over nine kilograms—

weighed 54 kilograms (119 pounds), while another only weighed 51.8 (114 pounds) for the same height. A few pages later, *Vivi* advertised a crash diet through which a woman had lost 7 kilograms (15.4 pounds) in 5 days—she now weighed 49 kilograms (108 pounds)—while the woman next to her had lost 6 kilograms (13.2 pounds) in the same period of time, to bring her weight down to 48 kilograms (106 pounds). *Non-no* featured women weighing only 43 kilograms (95 pounds) for a height of 156 centimeters (5'2") or 46 kilograms (101 pounds) for 161 centimeters (5'3"). Similar ads appeared in all of the magazines. In fact the very same ads could be found in several of the publications.

Japanese-style sexuality

While Japanese women were in many ways exposed to the same beauty standards as their Western sisters[7], clear differences did appear between the construction of Western and Japanese femininity in the magazines. White women were generally portrayed as more sexually aggressive than their Japanese counterparts. While Victoria's Secrets ads featured white models, eyes closed, in poses suggesting sexual ecstasy (*Vivi*, 244), a Japanese underwear ad appearing in several of the magazines featured a young model in a bra modestly looking down, her head slightly tilted to the side (*Non-no*, 162; *Vivi*, 202). Similarly, an ad in *Non-no* for a Japanese brand of blue jeans featured an androgynous white model in a revealing tank top and zipped-down jeans accompanied with the slogan "Sweet Camel. Jeans for Aggressive Woman" (232). On the other hand, Japanese models were generally portrayed as childlike and innocent, yet clearly sexually available. Such a portrayal points to constructions of gender that can be attributed more specifically to the Japanese cultural environment. Japanese feminists have pointed to a trend in Japanese representations of female attractiveness toward younger and younger models. According to Suzuki (1995) this disturbing trend is related to the development of a similar fad in pornography, which is readily and widely available in Japan, for "Lolita girls," very young virginal women—sometimes high school girls in uniform—constructed as sexual objects for men's enjoyment. While the Lolita image is also used in American ads and pornography, I believe that its omnipresence in the Japanese publications examined here can be argued to be a specifically Japanese phenomenon. It can be related to the *kawairashisa* (cuteness) craze, started in Japan in the early 80s, in which "the desired image was eighteen going on twelve, sexy but doesn't know it, i.e., the feminine ideal for legions of Japanese men" (Schilling, 1997, 221). Mark Schilling relates this movement to the traditional Japanese construction of femininity as sweetness and innocence. Thus, whereas Western influence might have served to present some Western features as desirable, Japanese women were clearly encouraged to aspire to specifically Japanese constructions of female sexuality and were clearly faced with specifically Japanese forms of sexism.

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[7] I do not mean to lump all women into an all-encompassing female bond stretching across cultural boundaries, but the magazines certainly operated under the assumption that such a "sisterhood" existed.

The liberated Westernized woman

Despite such a construction of sexuality, the magazines also challenged some of the more traditional constructions of femininity in the Japanese culture. The Western lifestyle of beauty and consumption was presented in the publications as a liberating force against traditional roles. Unlike the traditional Japanese woman whose mobility is restricted, the "modern" woman on the pages of the magazines was allowed to roam the world freely to spend her days playing on foreign beaches or going out with her friends. Advertising encouraged her to buy her own car or scooter, to furnish her own apartment, or to book her own flight. Rather than sacrificing for others, she consumed for herself. Such consumption was often constructed as an empowering act of self determination against tradition as in an ad for "Contemporary Basic Gear" by Sanyo stating—in English—"Your Single Life. Open it yourself" (*Non-no*, 116). While Japanese women have traditionally been encouraged to live with their parents until marriage, a 10-page spread in *Non-no* featuring two clearly single women gave readers advice on how to furnish and decorate their own apartment. Also challenging traditional notions of appropriate Japanese female behavior, an article in *éf* (63) portrayed two women drinking wine together—an activity generally associated with businessmen out with co-workers. The same article featured a full page photograph of two laughing women, sitting on the hood of their sports vehicle (59) while on the page next to it, one of them was seen at the wheel. A few pages later, a woman was portrayed standing alone at a bar. The young working women who constitute the market of the five publications examined here were thus encouraged to spend their salaries on themselves, or let men spend money on them. In fact, one of the very few males appearing in this largely female world of leisure and consumption was featured in an ad holding up a credit card.

In spite of their apparent exclusion, however, men were present in the background of the magazines, as they did on the cover of *éf* featuring a photograph of a woman in full color with four men in black and white standing behind her. Men were also present in classified ads, asserting in *Non-no* that "Somebody loves you" or in stories describing the perfect wedding—always featuring a bride in a Western-style wedding dress rather than the traditional kimono. Thus, while Japanese women's magazines sometimes challenged traditional gender constructions by promoting Western lifestyles, such challenges were reinscribed within the larger patriarchal order of marriage and compulsory heterosexuality.

Negotiating multiculturalism: Japanese style Western ideals

In many ways, the world of Japanese women's magazines is a multicultural world where ethnicity and cultural difference is erased—along with disability, aging, poverty, and homosexuality—or, at least, where it doesn't matter. It is a world where a Japanese woman can be blond and blue-eyed on one page and wear a kimono on the next, as in *Vivi* (213, 214). A world in which no contradiction is seen in the practice of having white blue-eyed women sell foundations to their Japanese "sisters," or calling blue contact lenses the "Natural Touch" (*Non-no*, 202; *éf*, 116). A world in which women of all ethnicities stand side by side on the page surrounded by messages in English and French—"translated" into *Katakana*, the Japanese syllabary used to designate foreign words—or Japanese. A world in which all women can participate in a common life of leisurely consumption of Western or Westernized products, in Tokyo, Paris, or London. It is also a world in no way territorially grounded. A perfect illustration of Nestor García-Canclini's (1995) deterritorialized culture. Indeed, very rarely did the photographs allow one to identify the location of their setting—except in travel pieces. Both Western and Japanese models were generally photographed in "neutral" urban settings, that could belong to any large metropolitan area in the world, with no specific locational markers of East or West.

While overall the lifestyle of consumption promoted in the magazines was Western in appearance—even the food that models consumed was Western, Camembert, wine, tortilla chips—Western influence was constantly negotiated in the publications. Even though many of the topics covered were similar to those found in Western women's magazines—including recipes, fashion, beauty, relationships, American movies with Brad Pitt and Harrison Ford, and even horoscopes—others were specifically Japanese, such as flower arrangement or Karaoke. Similarly, while dieting was clearly associated with the West, it was also associated with the Japanese tradition of going to the spa—most of the dieting programs advertised included massages, baths, and the use of specifically Japanese devices[8]. Furthermore, the ads often used the credibility and wisdom of old Japanese men who ended up sharing the page with Western models to tout the merits of thinning products. These ads were also counterbalanced in each of the magazines by features on food—as they often are in Western magazines—including full-size pictures of various sweets and desserts neither truly Western nor fully Japanese.

Finally, the magazines displayed a clearly Japanese aesthetic in their overall design. Their layout was more informal than that of comparable American publications and rendered particularly busy by the use of four visually contrasting syllabaries[9]. Furthermore, while Japanese can be read in any direction—and was written left to right as well as the traditional vertical and right to left in the pages of the magazines—the publications were bound on the right hand-side and opening to the right. They also included several pages of cartoons, classified ads in black and white generally placed at their center, and frequently combined several languages and alphabets on the same page. Even specifically Japanese topics, such as flower arrangement, were described with an English title, suggesting that the English words were integrated into the page for design purposes. Furthermore, Western ads were smoothly integrated in this specifically Japanese aesthetic and cartoons often featured blond and blue-eyed characters. Again, by both embracing and adapting Westernized representations, the publications managed to erase cultural difference and create a mythical world in which East and West, united by capitalism and consumption, easily merged.

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[8] Such as electrical breast enlargers or thigh reducers.

[9] Japanese is written in three different syllabaries—*Katakana* for words of foreign origin, *Hiragana*, and *Kanji* (Chinese characters)—which look very different from each other.

Post-feminism vs. post-modernism

In sum, the world of Japanese magazines is a textual representation of the postmodern culture many argue Japan has become. As Marilyn Ivy (1993) notes, some of Japan's most prominent intellectuals, including Yoshimoto Takaaki, Ueno Chizuko, and Asada Akira, maintain that new patterns of consumption in Japan indicate "a liberation of desire and subjectivity" (255). She explains that "Many [Japanese intellectuals] find in television commercials an ironic, metatextual commentary on current consumer capitalism; they hold up copywriters as today's version of the avant-garde" (255). She adds that "These developments have led many to speak of Japan as thoroughly postmodern in its cultural forms" (256). This evaluation of Japanese commercials is supported by Millie Creighton's (1995) assertion that Japanese advertisements have an essentially symbolic nature[10]. Thus, Creighton argues that the presence of white models in Japanese ads may not simply be evaluated as a sign of Western hegemony but is part of a much larger process through which the occident is brought under control and opposed to Japanese uniqueness and homogeneity. In a word, white female models in advertising are signs of Japanese "occidentalism,"[11] representations of an exotic, sexualized others (144).

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[10] I wish to thank Hanno Hardt for pointing me to this useful analysis of the use of white models in Japanese advertising.

If it is postmodern, the world of Japanese women's magazines is also postfeminist. Myra MacDonald (1995) argues that advertising has learned since the late 1980s to incorporate terminology of self-assertiveness and achievement into its sales effort. Reducing freedom, independence, and pleasure to matters of lifestyle and consumption, ads appropriate quasi-feminist concepts to create postfeminist utopias where women can "have it all" as long as they know what products to purchase. This trend was particularly evident in the numerous weight loss ads included in the Japanese publications. Associating slenderness with Western sexual liberation, these ads presented dieting as a fun and liberating thing to do. In a society in which women have traditionally been encouraged to sacrifice themselves to take care of others, beauty products were presented as a means for women to selfishly involve themselves in this own pleasure. Women were shown being taken care of by a crew of—often male—beauty professionals attending to their every thinning need. While caring for the self might be pleasurable, the link between pleasure and dieting and other potentially painful treatments—such as hair removal or even cosmetic surgery—can hardly be called feminist.

Indeed, for the feminist observer, the playful upbeat and Westernized "postmodern" world of Japanese magazines has a few clouds on its horizon. Increased incidence of anorexia nervosa in Japan (Jeammet, 1985; Nadaoka et al., 1996; Suematsu, Ishikawa, Kuboki, & Ito, 1985) suggests that dieting might not be all that liberating after all. Similarly, an ad for cosmetic surgery in *an-an* (218) featuring an eye clearly belonging to a Caucasian individual, hints at more than playful experimentation with fashion. This ad is particularly significant in light of the fact that "correction of the oriental eyelid"[12] is one of the most popular cosmetic procedures in Japan (Balsamo, 1996, 62; see also Morgan, 1991). As Elspeth Probyn (1992) notes, "We need to question how far playing with style can go before it becomes yet another way of conforming to the dominant ideology of women as objects" (86).

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[11] A process parallel to Said's orientalism.

[12] Term used by medical literature.

Finally, the Westernized world of consumption of Japanese magazines was not offered to all Japanese women, and Western styles clearly interacted with issues of class in the pages of the Japanese publications. White Western lifestyles were generally associated with upper class culture. Full size pictures of white faces were used to sell Dior foundation at 5500 yen the 30ml bottle (*Vivi*, 16), or small tubes of thinning cream for the same price. White models accompanied ads in French for Nina Ricci, Lancôme, and cosmetic surgery. Kate Moss sold diamonds. Japanese models were often relegated to the less expensive brands, such as Aube, Kosé, or L'Oréal, generally advertised in English or a combination of English and Japanese. While, of course, the production process of such ads probably has much to do with what models are featured—though ads produced by Japanese agencies do frequently use white models—the overall message of the magazines equated whiteness with upper class identity.

International sophistication was also reserved to those who could afford to travel abroad. But rather than being an opportunity for education, travel was an opportunity to consume. A piece on New York in *Non-no* featured an expensive weight loss program. A profile in *éf* on women living in Paris and New York identified the highlights of each city as shopping, food, perfume, shoes, cosmetics, jewelry, gold accessories, bags, and so on.

Thus, the common culture uniting women of different ethnicities in Japanese magazines was that of upper class consumption. Identified as the most consumption-oriented group in Japan the young single female audience of these publications is the perfect target for such ideology (Horioka, 1993), even though relatively few young Japanese women might actually be able to engage in the many activities they described (Taira, 1993). Young Japanese women might, however, want to enjoy this relative freedom to consume—in reality or fantasy—while they can. As Nancy Rosenberger's (1996) analysis of different styles of publications suggests, publications targeted at older married women tend to focus on more traditional female roles, such as motherhood and marriage. Despite their motives, the publications I examined did sometimes provide young women with possible alternatives to traditional gender constructions. In doing so, Japanese women's magazines illustrate the ongoing process of negotiation between East and West, tradition and change, in the Japanese culture.

Concluding remarks

Japanese women's magazines illustrate the complexity of the mutually constitutive relationship between gender, Western influence, and class. On the one hand, these publications can be charged with perpetuating oppressive constructions of femininity, and seen as a vehicle for hegemonic Western influence. On the other hand, however, Western influence has often been perceived by Japanese feminists as a liberating force, and the magazines might encourage Japanese women to challenge restrictive gender stereotypes. But the kind of liberation offered by women's magazines has obvious limitations. By constructing consumption as emancipation, the publications reinscribe liberation into the capitalist status quo and exclude working class—and numerous middle class—women from their world of leisure and fun. Furthermore, while consumption of Western beauty products and fashion may challenge traditional constructions of gender in Japan, numerous feminist scholars have noted that such practices are often far from liberating for Western and Japanese women alike. Finally, if, as Myra MacDonald (1995) suggests, women's magazines are constructed as "post-feminist" texts which display no awareness of discrimination and imply that women today can "have it all" if they try hard enough, the implications of the popularity of such texts in a culture that hasn't really yet truly experienced a feminist movement might deserve consideration.

Clearly, this study leaves many questions unanswered. In particular, it cannot make claims on how Japanese women might interpret and negotiate the messages presented to them in women's magazines. While much feminist research concentrates on the negative aspects of the construction of female attractiveness in such publications, the question of why women might enjoy reading them remains unexplored. Rather than assuming that lower class, or non-Western, or "less feminist" women are victims of a false consciousness we—"true" feminists—are immune from, we need to start considering how women might employ such representations in their effort to negotiate multiple forms of oppression. I believe that the Japanese cultural environment offers a powerful site for such an exploration.

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Gender Differences in the Perceptions of Television News Anchors' Career Barriers

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Gender Differences in the Perceptions of Television New Anchors' Career Barriers

Abstract

A nationwide mail survey of 246 local TV news anchors was conducted to examine anchors' perceptions of hindrances to their career progress. Women anchors' highest-rated barrier was the overemphasis on their physical appearance; lack of professional networks and support groups ranked the highest for men. Career barriers ranked highly by anchors of both sexes included: balance between work and family life, conflicting roles of wife/mother or husband/father and professional newscaster, and relocation.

Gender Differences in the Perceptions of Television New Anchors' Career Barriers

In the U.S. today, half of all TV news reporters and anchors are women (Stone, 1997). Twenty-five years ago, women made up only 13% of the television news workforce (Stone, 1997). This dramatic increase in the number of women in a once male-dominated profession serves as one result of what Pamela Creedon calls the "gender switch," which occurred during the mid-1970s when more women than men enrolled in college journalism and mass communication courses (1989). While the "gender switch" has resulted in increased numbers of women in the media workforce, here we pose the question: Has equality in the challenges both men and women in the TV news profession face on the job and in other work-related facets of their lives accompanied equality in numbers?

In this study, we focus on the career challenges faced by television news anchors. News anchors hold a prominence in the broadcasting profession due to their visibility in the public eye, and, as Stone (1973-74) notes, their occupation provides a visible and daily example of men and women working as equals. The viewing audience, that is, society, sees both men and women performing the same anchor duties on camera. However, to find out if they truly hold equal status within the profession, we must also see if they have the same experiences off camera.

In comparing men and women anchors' work experience, we must acknowledge the importance of gender roles in how anchors perceive their jobs, and how they are treated both in the newsroom and by the public. The obvious fact that they are of different genders leads to consideration of how such identities affect the way they deal with the various demands of the job.[1]

As Wood points out, "we internalize identities that shape how we understand the common life of a culture and our own places, opportunities, and priorities within it" (1994, p. 54). Thus, in making the inquiry into the similarities and differences in the career perceptions of men and women anchors, we must frame our investigation and our results to reflect society's overall expectations of the sexes.

Background

In this study, we focus on those who work in television news. Previous research in this area has addressed how gender values reflect traditional societal attitudes, expectations, and roles. For example, Rakow and Kranich (1991) examined how women serve as sources in news stories and as presenters of news. Concerning the coverage of news topics by television journalists, Rakow and Kranich state, there exists "a gendered division between 'serious, important' news that is overwhelmingly masculine and 'human interest, lifestyle' news that is more likely to be the purview of women reporters and readers" (1991, p. 11).

Rakow and Kranich (1991) also address the recurrent issue of physical appearance faced by women in the television news business. Indeed, it has served as a traditional challenge for women in general in our society (Wood, 1994). Women in TV news, in their attempts to gain credibility as journalists, have had to cope with societal expectations of appearance and beauty over the years (Sanders and Rock, 1988). Holland (1987), in her brief history of women newscasters in Great Britain, points to the significance of appearance in the obviously chauvinistic treatment of women anchors by British journalists:

> ...when women newsreaders began to appear regularly on British television in the mid 1970s...they were greeted as a total novelty by the press. They were seen as an opportunity for jokes, pictures, and suggestive comments. Every detail of their dress and appearance was commented on, their styles compared, their sexuality stressed... (p. 134).

Holland (1987) explains the significance of the role of physical appearance in how women are generally viewed by others: women's faces are not normally poised to look or to speak, "but are painted, decorated, and presented for beauty and the pleasure of the viewer" (p. 137).

The issue of physical appearance served as a rationale for Harp, Harp, and Stretch's 1985 study of the apparel of women newscasters. In prefacing their experiment, the researchers cite an oft-repeated commentary of the TV news industry: "The prominence given to the appearance of news presenters has led to much criticism being directed toward television news as being more preoccupied with appearance than journalistic substance" (p. 49). Incidentally, their results showed that subjects seemed to have a preference for conservatively dressed female newscasters (the business, "dress for success" look of navy blue suit jacket, blouse, and tie).

Ferri and Keller (1986) studied the career perceptions of women anchors and found that women's career barriers, those factors that served as hindrances in their professional development, centered on gender-related issues. Their survey questionnaire consisted of items that measured the extent to which certain work and home-related factors served as career barriers. Ferri and Keller's findings show that among the most significant of these experienced by the anchor women in their study were: the overemphasis placed on physical appearance, overcoming gender stereotypes, and differential treatment in the hiring process based on their sex. Ferri and Keller concluded that women news anchors believed different evaluation standards existed for men and women: "The respondents noted that they are often judged by their appearance while their male counterparts are judged more for their work skills" (1986, p. 467).

Ferri (1988) followed up the 1986 results by comparing women anchors' perceptions of career hindrances with those of men anchors. He concluded that women anchors perceived more barriers than their male counterparts. Both sexes perceived the issue of physical appearance differently—it ranked as much more of a career barrier for women anchors than for men. However, Ferri compared men's perceptions using the career barriers of women as a baseline rather than determining the top-rated career barriers of both to compare differences and similarities in their work experiences.

Smith, Fredin, and Nardone (1989) studied women and men TV news reporters' career attitudes. While they could find no "tangible evidence" for sexism, they did conclude that sexist attitudes still persisted during the time of their survey. The researchers did not examine other specific work-related factors of men and women reporters, such as those connected to gender roles. However, in presenting their findings to a local SPJ (Society of Professional Journalists) chapter, several women anchors commented that the study did not address the difficulties of balancing family and work lives.

Burks and Stone (1993) studied the career perceptions of men and women TV news directors. Both men and women in their survey reported a lack of quality time at home. However, women news directors perceived their family obligations as impeding their career progress. This perception, concluded Burks and Stone, might account for the underrepresentation of women in upper-management. Weaver and Wilhoit (1996) reiterate this difficulty faced by women in the media professions: "...by 1992, more women and men journalists were managing to balance their personal and professional lives. But the difficulty of combining career and family seemed greater for women than for men although there were some signs that this was changing in US journalism" (p. 179).

In summary, the studies mentioned above offer consistent findings that generally illustrate women in the TV industry contend with traditional gender role expectations in their careers.

Most notable of these include expectations concerning women's physical appearance and the difficulties in balancing careers with family.

Research Question

In assessing the status of women in the TV anchoring profession, we must gauge how they are progressing in terms of a comparison with their male counterparts. In this study, then, we examine how men and women anchors perceive their careers to discover similarities and differences in their work-related experiences. Almost ten years have passed since Ferri's 1988 study of men and women TV anchors. Here we update his results, and augment other studies' findings regarding men and women's perceptions of their television careers.

As mentioned above, we seek to discover if a simple parity in the numbers of women and men on-air news personnel means equality of employment in terms of gender. Thus, we pose the following research question: What career barriers do women and men television news anchors perceive in the late 1990s? We define "career barrier" as a work-related factor that serves as a hindrance in the advancement of one's career.

By examining differences in the career perceptions of men and women anchors, we also consider the nature of gender in society, and pay specific attention to the status of women in society, elements included in feminist theories (Cirksena and Cuklanz, 1992). Through this study, we hope to contribute to the growing amount of research that recognizes the importance of women's experiences in the study of communication in general, another element of the feminist perspective, as described by Rush and Grubb-Swetnam (1996).

Additionally, we see a practical side to this type of research that investigates and describes the career perceptions of women news professionals. By documenting the personal and professional characteristics of the people in the media profession, we can educate both our female *and* male students not only about the demands of such a career, but also how the working world reflects overall society. As mentioned previously, we aim to discover whether equal numbers in a profession translates to equality in that profession. At the same time, we can challenge future media professionals to instigate changes in their working environments that promote equity between the sexes. These changes within the media workplace, we hope, eventually will translate to changes in media content, as Creedon had hoped the "gender switch" would have done (1993).

Method

Sample

We used the listing of all U.S. television stations in the 1996 *Broadcasting and Cable Yearbook* (R. R. Bowker, 1996) to select our survey respondents. We included each station accompanied by a news director's name or newsroom phone number in our initial sampling of TV stations. Seven-hundred ninety-five stations of the 1,670 listed met this requirement. We then used a random numbers table to find a starting point on the list of 795 stations, and included every fourth one. Each station's newsroom was then called to obtain the names of its main news anchors. College stations were replaced by the next station on the list, as were those stations that, though listed as having a newsroom number, when called, did not actually have a news operation. We obtained a total of 476 anchors' names; 241 were female, 235 were male.

Procedure

We mailed questionnaires to the 476 anchors during the late spring of 1997. Four weeks after that initial mailing, we sent postcard reminders to those who had not returned their questionnaires. After another four weeks, we re-mailed the questionnaire to those anchors who had not responded to our reminder. We finally achieved a 52% response rate, as per Babbie's (1995) recommendation, during mid-summer 1997. The 246 local station news anchors who returned completed questionnaires comprised our final sample. Of those, 118 were men and 128 were women.

Instrument

We based our survey instrument on Ferri and Keller's (1986) questionnaire. It consisted of a series of statements related to factors of work and personal life that anchors might perceive as career obstacles. For the purposes of our study, we included only those items from Ferri and Keller questionnaire that pertained to our research question. These included statements regarding the overemphasis of physical appearance, lack of professional network/support groups, balance between work and family, lack of mentors, differential treatment in the job application process and additional pressures to prove one's worth due to one's gender, relocation, professional preparation, and lack of support from family and friends. These statements were written based on the respondent's sex. For example, for women anchors, the item concerning role conflicts on the job and at home was stated, "There are serious conflicts created by the dual roles of wife/mother and professional newscaster." For men anchors, we replaced "wife/mother" with "husband/father."

Before the initial mailing, we sent questionnaires to eight news anchors, four men and four women, in the local market who were not part of our sample. We asked them for feedback on the face validity and readability of the questionnaire and for any other suggestions they had. A few of the women anchors made comments concerning inequities in salary. We decided to include an item on this issue: "My salary is comparable to my male ('female' for men anchors) who have similar qualifications and experience."

We chose not to include two of Ferri and Keller's career-related items because of the wording and prejudicial nature of those statements. Both items referred to minority or male favoritism in the hiring process. Thus, our questionnaire contained a total of 34 items, worded as statements, designed to measure the extent to which they served as career obstacles for the anchors.

Respondents indicated to what degree they agreed or disagreed with each of the 34 statements on a five-point, Likert-type scale. Values ranged from one, for "strongly disagree," to five, for "strongly agree." A response of "neither agree or disagree" was assigned a value of three. A reliability analysis conducted for all 34 items using all cases ($\underline{N} = 221$) resulted in a Cronbach's *alpha* of .91.

A blank space accompanied each item so that respondents could write comments. At the end of the 34 items, we asked the respondents to offer any other career barriers they had experienced, and provided a blank space for this as well.

Demographic items included age, marital status, number of children living at home, education level, market size, number of years in broadcasting, and number of years in current position. We also asked respondents how successful they rated themselves in their career. We did not ask respondents to indicate their race.

Analysis

We wanted to know which of the 34 items respondents thought served as important career barriers, based on their sex. Using Ferri and Keller's (1986) method, we distinguished barriers from non-barriers (factors which did not seem to hinder anchors' career progress) by employing the quartile deviation, or semi-quartile range. This statistic is based on Spiegel's formula using the first and third quartiles as determined by an array of item means.[2] By subtracting the quartile deviation from the third quartile, we determined the cut-off mean for those items deemed as important barriers. We determined the non-barrier cut-off mean by subtracting the quartile deviation from the first quartile. Those items whose means fell between the two were considered as neither important nor unimportant, in that they represented mostly neutral ("neither agree nor disagree") responses.

For the women anchors in our sample, mean scores for all items ranged from 3.86 (a highly important barrier) to 1.83 (not a barrier). Item means between 3.86 and 3.38 were considered important barriers; item means between 2.48 and 1.83 were considered non-barriers. For the men anchors, means for all items ranged from 3.7 to 1.86. Items considered as important career barriers had means between 3.7 and 2.97; non-barrier means fell between 2.41 and 1.86.

Prior to testing for differences between women and men anchors' responses to the 34 career-related items using a chi-square (X^2) analysis, we collapsed the strongly agree and agree responses into an overall "agree" response. Similarly, we collapsed the strongly disagree and disagree responses into an overall "disagree" response. Neutral responses ("neither agree nor disagree") remained as such.

Results

Demographics

The mean age of the women anchors was in the "between 30 and 34" category (4% were under 25, 49% were between 25 and 34, 42% were between 35 and 44, and 5% were between 45 and 49); men anchors' mean age was in the "between 40 and 44" category (1% was under 25, 16% were between 25 and 34, 37% were between 35 and 44, 19% were between 45 and 49, and 27% were 50 or older). We find interesting that none of the women anchors reported being more than 49 years of age.

Overall, these figures reflect Ferri's (1988) sample, in which men's average age ($\underline{M} = 38$, $\underline{SD} = 9.72$) was about 10 years older than the women's ($\underline{M} = 27.8$, $\underline{SD} = 7.25$). In the ten years or so since Ferri and Keller's study, mean ages of men and women anchors seem not to have changed substantially. The implication of this finding points to the possibility that women don't stay in their broadcasting careers as long as men do.

The mean age at which men anchors were appointed to their current jobs was 36 (SD = 7.1), while women's mean age was 29 (SD = 4.8). The mean number of years the men anchors had their current job was 8.6 (SD = 9.2), while women averaged 5.4 years (SD = 5.1). Men anchors averaged 13 years' experience in broadcasting (SD = 8.1), women, 6.5 years (SD = 4.7).

Regarding the education level of the anchors in our sample, 86% of the women reported holding a bachelor's degree, while 67% of the men did. More men, however, reported holding a graduate degree (13%) than did women (8%). Sixteen percent of the men reported that their highest education level was an associate's degree or some college, while only 5% of the women did so. One percent of the women reported their highest education level was high school; 3% of the men indicated so (1 male anchor did not answer this item).

Most of the anchors were married (59% of the women, 68% of the men). More of the women tended to be single (31%), than did the men (16%). With the age statistics in this sample, it was not surprising that more of the men were divorced (16%) than were the women (9%). Forty-three percent of the women anchors reported having at least one child living with them; about than half of the men did so (51%).

Concerning pay, women's mean salary was in the "between $60-70,000" category, while men anchors' mean salary was in the "between $70-$80,000" category. It should be noted that anchors in larger markets tended to make $100,000 or more. Among women anchors, 4% reported earning less than $20,000 a year, 40% earned between $20,000 to $50,000, 24% earned between $50,000 and $100,000, and 32% earned more than $100,000. One percent of the men anchors earned less than $20,000, 28% reported salaries between $20,000 and $50,000, 31% earned between $50,000 and $100,000, and 40% earned more than $100,000 a year.

Regarding market size, 23% of the respondents reported working in the top 25 television markets, 47% were from markets 26 through 100, 29% were from markets 101 through 200 (one respondent was not sure of market size). Roughly equal numbers of men and women were from each market size designation as listed above.

In terms of career success, 50% of the women said they felt "very successful," 41% reported being "moderately successful," and 6% indicated they were at or near the start of their career (3% did not respond to this item). Forty percent of the men said they were "very successful," 58% felt "moderately successful," and 2% said they were at or near the start of their career.

Perceived Career Barriers

In comparing how the women and men anchors in this study perceived potential career barriers as presented in the 34 items, we see that anchors of both sexes do share similar views, especially pertaining to the balancing of work and family life. However, their views obviously differ when we consider their top-ranked career barriers. Table I presents the top-ranked items as calculated using the semi-quartile range.

Women anchors' top-rated career barrier concerned the emphasis they perceive others, such as viewers, management, and colleagues, place on their physical appearance ($\underline{M}$ = 3.86, $\underline{SD}$ = 1.14). This sampling of comments illustrates the importance of appearance for women anchors as compared to men: "Women are supposed to appear attractive, perhaps even glamorous...the men just have to look trustworthy"; "Male anchors here are allowed out-of-date or sloppy dress—but I am not"; "My co-anchor rarely if ever gets comments"; and, "Oh yeah! Tell me the last time a male's hair color came into question."

The overemphasis on physical appearance item ranked as 27th among the 34 items for men anchors (M = 2.11, SD = .81). This finding indicates that for men anchors, physical appearance is not very important. In fact, the men anchors that commented on this item actually supported the sentiment illustrated in the above comments made by women. Wrote one male anchor, "Women are subject to more scrutiny regarding their appearance." Another reiterated, "The women have it much tougher!" One anchor admitted that he doesn't get nearly the same attention regarding his appearance: "Viewers constantly make note of female anchors' new hairstyle or clothes. No one calls about my appearance."

The lack of professional network and support groups ranked as the number-one career barrier for male anchors (M = 3.7, SD = .92). Several of the men anchors' comments regarding this item, such as, "Considering we're all in competition I doubt you could get such a group," and, "It's a competitive, subjective business so pooling of thoughts might be counter-productive," reflect the generally competitive nature of the news business. However, some ten percent of the men anchors disagreed or strongly disagreed that they perceive a lack of professional support groups. Wrote one, "Don't think there is a need for one." Another commented, "That's probably why so many people use agents, at least one reason, anyway." One anchor acknowledged that, "I'm pretty much out here on my own—advice is pretty slim pickings." Others simply wrote that they did not know of any professional network groups solely for men.

Women anchors also seemed to consider the lack of professional networks highly as a barrier (M = 3.42, SD = 1.02), although not as strongly as did the men (see Table 1). This item elicited few comments by the women anchors. However, several wrote that professional groups existed for women, such as "Women in Television and Radio," and "Women in Communications," but none were tailored specifically for women news anchors. Wrote one, "Although 'Women in Radio and Television' has a local chapter, they're mainly sales oriented here. I have not suffered for lack of a support group." Several disagreed or strongly disagreed that there is a lack of such groups. One woman anchor's comment reflected this opinion: "The network is there if you seek it out. It is not necessarily within your career, but may be in adjacent careers."

Both men and women anchors seemed to perceive conflicts between their roles as professional newscasters and husbands/fathers and wives/mothers as a highly important career barrier. This item ranked second for women anchors (M = 3.64, SD = 1.2) and fourth for men anchors (M = 3.15, SD = 1.14). Many of the comments on this item had to do with the irregular hours of job. For example, one woman anchor wrote, "Most newscasting jobs are evening hour jobs. It makes it difficult to have much family time." This difficulty in juggling their roles at work and at home was reflected in two women anchors' similar comments: "It is almost impossible to do both well"; "It's impossible to take time for a personal life while climbing the never-ending ladder."

Being an anchor and a mother seems to pose an especially difficult challenge for the women in our study. Even those without children acknowledged this, with comments such as: "I don't have children, but I don't know how those who do handle it all"; and, "I am not a mother, because I can't imagine being able to successfully do both. TV news is a year-round full-time times two commitment and I would be failing in both duties if I was a mother too." Several women anchors pointed out that they've had problems with management based on their having a family, as these comments illustrate: "Both family and work expect you to be there whenever they need you. I can't always do both and I think that my employer holds it against me";

"Management says it understands, but neither understands nor forgives when there's a news emergency and Mom is needed elsewhere"; "I've been turned down for jobs once I've mentioned I have a family—it turns into a 'dirty secret' "; and "I have felt my hiring...has been affected by the fact I'm married. I feel it will be even harder when I have kids."

Some of the women anchors commented that they were able to handle both roles with some help. As one wrote," You need a very patient husband." One woman anchor, a mother of four, acknowledged the help she had from her spouse: "The only way I am able to work the hours I do, 2 or 3 p.m.-midnight or 1 a.m. and raise four children is to have a very supportive husband—who makes dinner and puts the kids to bed too!" Another, who disagreed that she experienced such conflict, wrote, "I've made the choice to get married, have a child, and work. Therefore, I must balance out these roles. My husband is very helpful!"

The men anchors didn't make as many comments concerning the dual roles conflict item as the women did. Some did point out, however, that their job hours took away from time at home. One anchor, who worked the 5, 6 and 10 p.m. newscasts, commented that he didn't get to see his children enough: "I take them to school but then don't see them again. Not enough quality time with kids and my wife." Wrote another, "Most newscasts air from 5-11 p.m. preventing a father from being with his family."

As with the item regarding the conflict between work and family/marital roles, the difficulty of balancing their job and family rated highly for both sexes (for men, M = 3.27, SD = 1.14; for women, M = 3.52, SD = 1.16). As Table 1 shows, this item was ranked almost equally for men and women anchors.

As with the previous item, more women made comments than did the men. Many of these had to do, again, with the long hours required to work in the news industry. Comments such as, "We work until the story is done, not until 5 p.m.," and, "This is not an 8 hour a day job," reflected this attitude. One woman anchor wrote that she found it difficult to make friends due to her irregular working hours. "I've had to stop or ignore my personal life many times for the sake of my job," wrote another. One woman anchor commented that motherhood seems to add to the difficulty in balancing work and home life: "Even without children, I am even putting a family on hold until I learn how to balance my life better." As one anchor put it bluntly, "My family ends up coming second." Some women anchors, however, did not perceive this to be a problem, as these comments demonstrate: "It does make a social life tough, but you work around it," and "This hasn't been a career barrier, but it is a very real fact of the job."

Only five male anchors made comments on this item. Combined, their comments seem to show they've accepted the fact that the job takes away from home time, as this comment typifies: "It's part of the job. It's time consuming. I advise people it isn't an 8 hour a day job." Wrote another, "It can be done but it's a very full schedule."

Those in the TV news business often measure success by the size of the market in which one works. This holds especially true for anchors, who many times start in smaller markets and move up to larger ones to advance in their careers. Thus, relocation serves as a requirement for progressing in the industry. This rated rather highly for both men ($\underline{M} = 3.17$, $\underline{SD} = 1.19$) and women anchors ($\underline{M} = 3.38$, $\underline{SD} = 1.24$) in our sample, with a third place ranking for men and a fifth place ranking for women. Those few men anchors who made comments on the relocation item acknowledged the difficulty of relocating with a family, as these comments show: "It's more difficult for me to move because I have to take my family into account, and moving to different, larger markets is almost always important"; and "This should not be the case, but men have greater financial responsibility in life—thus, the cost and risk of relocation is a major factor for many (not all) men." Others accepted relocation as a fact of the business: "Change is almost a given in this business"; "It's more of a pain, not a barrier."

Women anchors made considerably more comments on this item, but many also seemed to accept relocation as part of the TV news career. One woman anchor who strongly disagreed that relocating is a barrier wrote, "It's understood in this business—male or female. If you want to advance, you go where the best job is. I've moved four times."

Comments by women anchors suggest that relocation seemed to pose more of a problem if they were in relationship, as these illustrate: "At some point it becomes more difficult for women to convince male partners to relocate with them"; "When I was single I considered moving no problem. Now that I'm married it is very difficult to consider relocating because of the impact it will have on my husband"; and, "Sometimes in order to advance you need to leave the market, especially if you're already in the top position. Moving is difficult if you have developed relationships or families. Many people simply quit." Taken together, both men and women anchors' comments demonstrate that relocation may not pose as much, if at all, a problem for single people as it does for those who have families to consider when accepting a job in another market.

The item concerning youthful appearance (stated as, "Youth or appearing younger than your co-anchor is a significant barrier if you are male") ranked among the top career barriers for men anchors (M = 2.97 (SD = 1.14).[3] Upon closer examination, we found about 40% percent of them agreed or strongly agreed that this was a barrier, 18% indicated a neutral response, and 42% disagreed or strongly disagreed. Only three men commented on this item. One wrote that women had the burden of appearing youthful, another commented that male anchors reached their prime later than female anchors, and one wrote, "I spent 7 years in radio before going into television because I looked too young." For women anchors, however, appearing younger than their co-anchor ranked 10th among the 34 items (M = 2.88, SD = 1.25); it was not considered an important barrier based on our calculation.

Other Career Barriers: Comments on Open-ended Question

The comments made by the respondents regarding other career barriers they have experienced fall into rather different themes for each sex. The women anchors' concerns seemed to reiterate in large part the career barriers as presented in the 34 questionnaire items. Most of the men anchors' comments, however, centered on difficulties in dealing with management and the uncertain nature of the TV business in terms of hiring and firing.

Of the 128 women anchors in our study, 27 offered comments regarding additional barriers. These comments, in order of frequency of mentions (indicated in parentheses), related to the following issues: difficulty balancing family and work (6); racial issues, such as in hiring practices or treatment of minority women (6); reiteration of physical appearance concerns (4); differential treatment based on sex, in regard to salary and promotion (3); competition with other women (2); and dealing with gender stereotyping or sexism (2). Six women anchors wrote that they did not perceive any career barriers at all.

Twenty-five of the 118 men anchors listed additional career barriers. Their comments followed these general themes, in order of frequency of mentions: problems dealing with or caused by management (9); the subjective nature of hiring and firing, such as not having the right "look," being too young or too old, and job uncertainty (7); racial issues, such as hiring preferences for minorities (4); financial and family aspects of relocating (2); and contractual obligations (2). One male anchor commented he lacked motivation to send out resume tapes.

Another mentioned that his most significant career barrier was the problem of finding more serious reporting jobs.

Non-Barriers

A large number of the 34 items fell into the non-barrier range for both men and women anchors. However, we find it worth noting which of these ranked as the least significant in terms of hindering anchors' career advancement. For both, lack of confidence ranked at the near-bottom of the list.

We chose a mean of 2.0 or less (indicating a very high percentage of disagree or strongly disagree responses) as a starting point in considering these low-ranked items. For women anchors, these items included lack of motivation due to past obstacles ($\underline{M}$ = 2.0, $\underline{SD}$ = 1.06), lower career aspirations due to limited opportunities for women ($\underline{M}$ = 2.0, $\underline{SD}$ = .92), lack of confidence ($\underline{M}$ = 1.89, $\underline{SD}$ = 1.12), and lack of encouragement and support from family and peers ($\underline{M}$ = 1.83, $\underline{SD}$ = .97). Items with of means 2.0 or less for men anchors included: lack of confidence ($\underline{M}$ = 1.96, $\underline{SD}$ = 1.09), not enough opportunities to write and report hard news ($\underline{M}$ = 1.91, $\underline{SD}$ = .55) and reporting more soft news than female colleagues ($\underline{M}$ = 1.86, $\underline{SD}$ = .73).

Gender Differences in Career Perceptions

Of the 34 career-related items included in the survey questionnaire, we found statistically significant differences between women and men anchors' overall response patterns for 12 of them. Data for the results discussed below are presented in Table 2.

Overemphasis on Physical Appearance. Not unexpectedly, we found that women and men anchors differed significantly in their responses to the physical appearance item. Seventy-five percent of the female anchors agreed or strongly agreed that there exists an overemphasis on their appearance compared to only about 7% of the men (X^2 [2, $\underline{N}$ = 246] = 120.62, $\underline{p} < .001$).

Dual Role Conflicts. The women anchors in this study seem to have a harder time balancing their dual role as news anchor and wife/mother as compared to the men anchors. Sixty-two percent of the women anchors believed that they had difficulties balancing their career and family or personal life versus about 42% of the men anchors (X^2 [2, N = 239] = 12.06, p < .01).

Balancing Feminine/Masculine Identity with Role of Newscaster. While most women anchors did not see a problem in balancing their feminine identity with their job as newscaster, more women than men did perceive such a barrier. About 28% of the women anchors agreed that there is a problem in balancing their feminine identity with their job. One woman anchor who agreed there are problems with finding a workable balance between feminine identity and professionalism wrote, "You're either a bitch or a bimbo...as my friends say." Only 8.5% of the men anchors agreed that they find balancing their masculine identity with their newscaster job to be a problem (X^2 [2, N = 245] = 15.38, p < .001).

Additional Pressures to Prove One's Worth Due to Gender. The men anchors in this study apparently did not feel pressured to prove themselves as male anchors (65.3%). However, women anchors showed split perceptions on this issue. About 44% indicated that they did not have to prove themselves as anchors because of their gender, while about 46% did say they felt such additional pressure (X^2 [2, N = 246] = 17.0, p < .001). One of the women anchors who agreed with the statement, "There are additional pressures on me to prove my worth and competence as a newscaster because of my gender," wrote, "I'm blonde too—so that's even tougher!" Wrote another, "Women are frequently seen as the disposable half of the dual anchor team. The male is perceived as the mainstay." Interestingly, one of the men anchors who agreed with this item commented, "I think people expect more from a man here."

Employers' Negative Attitudes Toward Women/Men. Very few (4.3%) of the men anchors agreed that their employers held negative attitudes toward them because they were men. However, about 24% of the women anchors felt their employers held negative attitudes toward them because they were women (X^2 [2, N = 244] = 20.74, p < .001). One of the women anchors commented that the issue of employers' negative attitudes toward women's competence "only applies to Neanderthal news directors." One of the men anchors, who disagreed employers held negative attitudes toward men, wrote, "I find more negative attitudes by employers toward women."

Reporting More Soft News. Most men anchors in this study believe that they are not given more soft news than their female counterparts (91.5%). However, only 58.3% of the women anchors believe that they are not given more soft news than their male colleagues. Almost a third of the women anchors (32.3%) believe they are given more soft news than males, while only 3.4% of the men anchors believe they are given more soft news than their female counterparts (X^2 [2, N = 245] = 38.50, p < .001). One woman anchor who agreed with the item wrote, "A woman is considered emotional and therefore able to handle soft news. It's not as intellectually challenging as hard news." While the results show that men anchors tended to disagree they were given more soft news than their female counterparts, several comments actually supported the opposite, as this one illustrates: "The women get the softer stuff, unless they complain, then they don't."

Cronyism or "Buddy System." Though a "buddy system" on the part of either sex did not rank highly as a career barrier for the men and women anchors in this study, relatively more of the women perceived a buddy system (a male buddy system) as a career barrier than did the men.

About 38% of the female anchors saw a male buddy system as a career barrier compared to only 4.2% of male anchors who saw a female buddy system as a career barrier (X^2 [2, N = 246], 40.20, $p < .001$). This typical comment from women anchors who agreed with this statement reflects the presence of male cronyism: "The newsroom I'm in now is a primary example of 'The Good Ole Boys Club!'" Even some *men* anchors supported the women's attitudes, as this comment shows: "There are more male managers than female overall, so, if anything, there's a male 'buddy system.'" Another male anchor commented, "Few women I see are willing to refer other women to the job."

Lack of Role Models. While men news anchors generally saw no lack of male role models for themselves as news anchors (almost 85% of them disagreed that there was such a lack), about 65% of the women news anchors disagreed that they perceived a lack of female role models. In fact, 16.4% of the women anchors believed there was a lack of role models compared to only 4.2% of the men (X^2 [2, N =246] = 14.31, $p < .01$). Most comments by women anchors came from those who disagreed that there is a lack of female role models, such as this one: "I think there are good role models—Diane Sawyer, Barbara Walters, Cokie Roberts." Another woman anchor, who agreed with the item, pointed to the absence of women network evening news anchors: "Connie Chung was the only one I watched when she did network news—but now she's gone."

Differential Treatment in Application Process Based on Gender. More men than women reported that there is differential treatment based on one's gender in the job application process. About 20% of the men anchors reported they perceive differences in the way male and female anchors were treated in the application and screening process, compared to about 15% of the women anchors. In fact, 75.2% of the women anchors saw no differential treatment in job applications based on gender, while 60.2% of the men anchors felt this way. About 20% of the men anchors gave a neutral response to this item, compared to about 10% of the women (X^2 [2, N = 243] = 7.05, $p < .05$). The high percentage of "agree" responses suggests that the hiring process itself may be the same for both sexes.

Market Preference for Gender. While most news anchors in this study did not see a preference for a male or a female anchor in their market, close to a quarter (23.1%) of the men news anchors did see a preference for female anchors in their market, compared to only 10.3% of the women anchors who cited their market as having a preference for male (X^2 [2, N = 243] = 15.55, $p < .001$). Most comments made by all anchors for this item suggest they perceive no real preference for either gender on the part of their viewers. Wrote one male anchor, who gave a neutral response, "They prefer stability, and good reports and reporters more than anything."

Limited Access to Training Opportunities. Women anchors were more likely to disagree with the statement, "Women have limited access to formal and informal training opportunities such as temporary assignments and internships." Seventy-two percent of the women anchors disagreed with this statement, while 56.4% of the men anchors disagreed that men have limited access to such opportunities. Fully 22% of the men anchors agreed they had limited access to training and only 8.6% of the women did so (X^2 [2, N = 245] = 9.89, $p < .01$). Typical comments, made by women anchors, centered on the presence of women interns at their stations, as this one illustrates, "Our newsroom is dominated by female interns (a reflection of male management or the students who seek internships?)."

Salary Is Comparable to Opposite Sex. We found a difference in the anchors' perceptions of their opposite-sex counterparts' salaries anchors (X^2 [2, N = 243] = 18.47,

$p < .001$). Men anchors (21.4%) were less likely to see their salary as being comparable to that of women anchors, while 45.2% of the women anchors indicated that their salaries were comparable to that of men. Comments on this item did not make clear what gender is paid more. Comments by women, such as this typical one, suggest men make better salaries: "In most cases my salary has been at least $10,000 less than my male counterpart." On the other hand, this comment, by a male anchor, suggests the opposite: "The disparity here is significant—the senior female far outstrips me in salary." The implications of the responses might be clearer if we worded the statement using the terms "higher salary" or "lower salary."

Discussion

In this study, we aimed to discover how men and women news anchors in the 1990s perceive various factors related to their careers. Specifically, we asked anchors to evaluate these factors in terms of how they serve as hindrances in their career development, and how they affect their on-the-job performance and personal life. We regard the barriers experienced by the anchors in our study as problematic for these professionals because they serve as job distractions, which can reduce a worker's ability to perform fully, and thus successfully.

Top-Rated Career Barriers

We found two major themes in comparing how men and women TV anchors think about those challenges. First, women anchors rated the overemphasis placed by others on their appearance as being a major challenge in doing their job. Second, we found that men and women anchors share career barriers—most notably, and we think, significantly, those related to the balance between career and family/personal life. Other similar challenges include relocation and lack of professional network and support groups. We discuss the implications of these findings in the following paragraphs.

Overemphasis on Women's Appearance. The women news anchors in this study clearly view the attention paid to their physical appearance as the major challenge to their career development. In the decade or so since Ferri's (1988) study, and first documented by Ferri and Keller in 1986, this emphasis on physical appearance as being a major career challenge remains an important concern for women anchors. We find rather telling that this item on the questionnaire elicited the most comments by women respondents.

Mass media portrayals of women have traditionally emphasized beauty and youth as ideals (Wood, 1994; Sanders & Rock, 1988). Such appearance standards reflect a general gender role expectation by society for women to not only present themselves in a desirable manner, but also to take an interest in such cosmetic concerns. Though both men and women pay attention to their appearance, Marshment (1997) points out that "an interest in appearance has become defined as a feminine one" (p. 140). Marshment explains further: "Cultural definitions identifying femininity with an 'attractive' appearance compound this identification" (p. 140). Our results show that for women anchors, both management and viewers expect this ideal of femininity.

Newscast viewers' scrutiny of women anchors' clothing, make-up and hair, as evidenced in the women anchors' comments, illustrates the significance of appearance not only on television, but also in our culture. It seems that viewers hold some beauty standards for women who appear in the role of newscaster in TV newscast content, crystallizing once again our society's beauty expectations not only for women who appear in the media, but for women in general (Wood, 1994). In essence, women who present the news on television are *themselves* the content of the visuals of a newscast; their role is that of "decorative performer," as Rakow and Kranich (1991) assert:

> Public controversies about double standards of appearance for women newscasters and anchors should remind us that these women are no less the bearers of meaning, the objects of male fantasy, than other representations of women. The double bind women newscasters thus face gives us insight into their difficulty in satisfying a television audience (p. 12).

Researchers might be interested to find out the gender of viewers who call women anchors to comment about their appearance.

Those in news management also place an emphasis on women anchors' appearance. In that some markets are anchor-driven, that is, dependent on viewer loyalty to their favorite anchors, management wants to ensure ratings by keeping viewers happy with their station's anchors. Thus, this extra support of beauty standards by those hiring and firing women anchors perpetuates this attitude. Women anchors, then, instead of concentrating on the job of delivering the news, must contend daily with such cosmetic concerns. As one woman anchor put it, "I get twice as many comments from the GM [general manager] on my hair than I will on a series I do—or my performance." As long as this appearance emphasis exists for women, it remains unlikely that they will be able to achieve a true parity with men in the TV news industry.

Balancing Work and Family Life. The women and men anchors in our study shared similar concerns about the difficulties of maintaining career goals with family and personal aspects of their lives. Anchors of both sexes responded similarly to the items "conflict between roles of wife/mother or husband/father and professional newscaster" and "hard to balance family and job"; these ranked highly as career barriers. Apparently, both men and women news anchors find that their professional and personal needs conflict in some ways.

We find this interesting, in that it shows that the traditional male in society, who has been allowed to put his professional life first and letting it supersede his other roles (such as father and husband) might be changing. Fifty-one percent of the men anchors reported having one or more children living with them; it might be possible that children and family life play a highly significant part in the professional and personal aspects of these respondents' lives.

We found, through their comments, that the concern with the balance between home and family life and roles of mother/wife and professional newscaster even more salient to women anchors—even those who are not yet married or have children. The prospect of juggling a news career with starting a family already poses a challenge for some of these women. Several who did have children wrote that management showed little sympathy or support for their responsibilities as mothers. None of the men anchors' comments mentioned either of these concerns. So, while the men anchors in this study indicate family and work concerns pose a challenge in their careers, it seems as if parenting issues pose an even greater one for the women. From what we can glean from our data, this implication supports Wood's assertion that women play the role of caregiver in society (1994).

Relocation as a Career Barrier. Both women and men news anchors in our sample view the mobile nature of the news business as a career problem. Several commented that relocating simply is part of the TV news business; one must move on to move up. However, their comments again suggest this career challenge serves as such for different reasons. For example, a number of the women anchors commented that having to relocate for the sake of progressing in their careers posed a difficulty for their husbands/boyfriends.

For men anchors who commented on this item, none mentioned their wives'/partners' difficulties in relocating with them. Instead, the few comments made suggested personal frustration and family concerns, especially for those with children. One divorced male anchor wrote, "I would think twice about moving too far away from my kids." Relocation for the men anchors in our study, it seems, has more to do with uprooting their families than accommodating a dual-career relationship.

Lack of Professional Network. Both men and women anchors in our sample agree on the problem of the lack of networking or support groups in their professional lives. A number of men anchors noted the competitiveness of the news business as preventing an effective professional network. Women anchors' comments suggest that there is a lack of women-specific organizations that are also job-specific. Several mentioned the names of some professional organizations for women in media. However, they did note that such groups targeted women in areas other than purely on-air news anchoring or reporting. Also, the lack of time to devote to such networks, as noted by some of the women anchors, might factor into the absence of job-specific organizations.

Gender Differences and Career Barriers

While the men and women anchors in our sample perceive several common career barriers, we must note that for several of the barriers presented to them, their responses did differ significantly. We find especially telling how men and women who belong to the same profession differ on the issue of physical appearance, with much more of the women agreeing their appearance is overemphasized.

Other gender role expectations, especially for the women in this study, also seem to manifest themselves in our findings. These problems include finding a workable balance between maintaining a balance between their feminine identity and professionalism and include conflicts they experience in the dual roles of wife/mother and professional newscaster. Most of the women anchors agreed that they find it hard to balance a feminine identity with being professional. Very few of the men reported such a difficulty in maintaining balance between a masculine identity and professionalism. This, we believe, reflects the need for women anchors to both look good and be taken seriously as a newsperson. For some, questions about which aspect of their persona is more important to both themselves and their audience may pose conflicts.

While many of the news anchors, men and women, reported feeling the cross-pressures of job and personal and family life, it was more often that the women anchors experienced this. If family issues were present for these anchors, it is the women who are most likely to see themselves juggling the demands of career and those of family. In part this suggests the continued pressure for women to be family oriented, or at least the pressure to sustain a family (as compared to being the provider).

A relatively young profession, television news presents an even newer vocation for women. We see this fact mirrored by the differences in men and women anchors' responses to the following items: (1) existence of cronyism ("buddy system"), (2) employers' negative attitudes toward and based on anchors' gender, (3) lack of role models, (4) additional pressures to prove one's worth, and (5) the reporting of soft news. For each of these barriers, more of the women than the men said they agreed either that they existed or served as a hindrance in their careers.

The gap between men (3.4%) and women (32.3%) anchors' agreement responses on the item regarding the reporting of soft news indicates that traditional news assignments still exist, with women reporting more soft news than men. This finding supports Rakow and Kranich's (1991) assertion that women are relegated to reporting "human interest" or lifestyle issues as opposed to "serious, important" ones.

That 24.4% of the women and 4.3% of the men anchors reported they feel that employers have negative attitudes toward them because of their gender indicates, we think, some cause for concern. More than any other career barrier item in this study, the issue of negative attitudes toward a particular gender focuses on gender itself as an object of discrimination.

For the other four career barriers which the men and women anchors differed significantly on, the implications are unclear. These include the items dealing with limited access to training opportunities, a market's preference for anchors of one gender over the other, comparable salary to opposite-sex anchors, and differential treatment based on one's gender during the application process. A high percentage of women anchors disagreed that their access to training opportunities was limited. It appears that women anchors are receiving adequate training during their career development. However, the data cannot tell us if this indicates such in terms of training being *sought* or if it is being *provided*. More women anchors disagreed that their market preferred male anchors compared to men who agreed that their market preferred female anchors. Perhaps this indicates that television news audiences have accepted women news anchors as presenters of news, or that stations are striving to hire more women anchors. While the majority of the news anchors in this study did not indicate that they were treated differently during the job application process because of their gender, those who did were more likely to be men. As more women continue to enter the profession, perhaps a number of men anchors feel that there is some type of discrimination toward them in the hiring process. Regarding the salary issue, the women anchors' responses seem to equal numbers who agree or disagree that their salaries are comparable to their male counterparts who have similar credentials. However, a majority of the men anchors tended to disagree that their salaries were comparable to their female counterparts. Whether men anchors see their salaries as being higher or lower than the women's salaries (or vice versa for the women anchors), it cannot be ascertained due to the neutral wording of the item.

Taken together, the findings suggest that men still dominate the TV news profession: (1) if there is a buddy system in the news business, it is a male one in which men refer other men to jobs; (2) more of the women reported there is a lack of female role models; and (3) more women indicated that they feel the pressure to prove their worth as newscasters because they are women.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

We limited our sample to women and men news anchors at local television news stations. Our focus encompassed the differences in how these news anchors saw their jobs based on a specific point of view—gender. We did not address in our questionnaire the issue of anchors' race, though a few comments regarding hiring decisions by the anchors themselves incorporated this aspect. Obviously, the interrelationship between gender and race and its effect on anchors' perceptions of their own careers as well as the industry in general serves as a provocative avenue for further research. Additionally, future researchers might find that management issues, especially those concerning subjective hiring practices and uncertainty of job security, play a vitally important part in an anchor's career progress.

A more inclusive study would include new anchors at the network level. Now that more women are taking on anchoring duties in national newscasts, such as at CNN, MSNBC, and CNBC, the feasibility of a similar survey with a sample consisting of network anchors seems possible.

Further, researchers could study gender differences in other facets of television news. For example, they might examine the career challenges of women sportscasters. One might predict their challenges in making progress in the male-oriented sportscasting field would mirror those of women news anchors in the early years of their entry into the news profession.

The investigation of career perceptions of women and men in other television jobs serves as another research path. Recent research has focused on TV reporters, news directors, and anchors. New studies could look at gender differences of TV news producers, production staff, and videographers. By measuring the status of women in the media industry, we also gauge their status in the working world, and, in turn, society as a whole.

Notes

1. As Unger (1979) explains, the term "sex" implies biological mechanisms, such as chromosomes, genes, hormones, and other physical characteristics that serve as the foundation for social distinctions between males and females. The term "gender," on the other hand, especially concerns the nonphysical, sociocultural characteristics which society considers appropriate for males and females, such as those that denote masculinity and femininity. While we recognize the different meanings implied by both terms, "sex" and "gender," we use them interchangeably in this study to refer to the obvious physical distinctions between men and women rather than behavioral traits.

2. The quartile deviation was calculated using the equation $Q = \frac{Q3 - Q1}{2}$, as noted by Murray R. Speigel in Schaum's Outline of Theory and Problems of Statistics (1961), New York: McGraw-Hill, p. 70.

3. While the quartile deviation includes this item as an important barrier, the 42% of men anchors that disagreed or strongly disagreed suggests it is not a barrier. This illustrates the problem of transforming nominal data from the original item to the ordinal scale required to calculate the quartile deviation.

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Table 1

Top-Rated Career Barriers of Women and Men Anchors

Women Anchors

Career Barrier	Mean	*SD*	*N*
Overemphasis on Physical Appearance	3.86	1.14	128
Conflict between Roles of Wife/Mother and Professional Newscaster	3.64	1.20	122
Hard to Balance Family and Job	3.52	1.16	128
Lack of Professional Network/Support Groups	3.42	1.02	127
Having to Relocate	3.38	1.24	128

Men Anchors

Career Barrier	Mean	*SD*	*N*
Lack of Professional Network/Support Groups	3.7	.92	117
Hard to Balance Family and Job	3.27	1.14	117
Having to Relocate	3.17	1.19	118
Conflict between Roles of Husband/Father and Professional Newscaster	3.15	1.14	117
Appearing Younger Than My Co-Anchor	2.97	1.15	117

Note: The higher the mean for each item, the greater its importance as a career barrier.

Table 2

Women and Men Anchors' Responses Resulting in Significant Differences

Career Barrier	*N*	Strongly Agree/ Agree *n* (%)	Neither Agree nor Disagree *n* (%)	Strongly Disagree/ Disagree *n* (%)
Overemphasis on Physical Appearance				
Women Anchors	128	96 (75)	9 (7)	23 (18)
Men Anchors	118	8 (6.8)	13 (11)	97 (82.2)
Conflicts between Roles of Wife/Mother—Husband/Father and Newscaster				
Women Anchors	122	76 (62.3)	24 (19.7)	22 (18)
Men Anchors	117	49 (41.9)	26 (22.2)	42 (35.9)
Balancing Feminine/Masculine Identity with Job				
Women Anchors	128	36 (28.1)	16 (12.5)	76 (59.4)
Men Anchors	117	10 (8.5)	18 (15.4)	89 (76.1)
Additional Pressures to Prove One's Worth Due To Gender				
Women Anchors	128	59 (46.1)	13 (10.2)	56 (43.8)
Men Anchors	118	25 (21.2)	16 (13.6)	77 (65.3)
Employers' Negative Attitudes Toward Women/Men				
Women Anchors	127	31 (24.4)	18 (14.2)	78 (61.4)
Men Anchors	117	5 (4.3)	15 (12.8)	97 (82.9)
Reporting More Soft News				
Women Anchors	127	41 (32.3)	12 (9.4)	74 (58.3)
Men Anchors	118	4 (3.4)	6 (5.1)	108 (91.5)

Table 2 continued

Women and Men Anchors' Responses Resulting in Significant Differences

Career Barrier	*N*	Strongly Agree/ Agree *n* (%)	Neither Agree nor Disagree *n* (%)	Strongly Disagree/ Disagree *n* (%)
Cronyism/Buddy System				
Women Anchors	128	48 (37.5)	19 (14.8)	61 (47.7)
Men Anchors	118	5 (4.2)	26 (22)	87 (73.7)
Lack of Role Models				
Women Anchors	128	21 (16.4)	24 (18.8)	83 (64.8)
Men Anchors	118	5 (4.2)	13 (11)	100 (84.7)
Differential Treatment in Application Process Based on Gender				
Women Anchors	125	19 (15.2)	12 (9.6)	94 (75.2)
Men Anchors	118	24 (20.3)	23 (19.5)	71 (60.2)
Market Preference for Opposite Gender				
Women Anchors	126	13 (10.3)	24 (19)	89 (70.5)
Men Anchors	117	27 (23.1)	36 (30.8)	54 (46.2)
Limited Access to Training Opportunities				
Women Anchors	128	11 (8.6)	25 (19.5)	92 (71.9)
Men Anchors	117	26 (22.2)	25 (21.5)	66 (56.4)
Salary Is Comparable				
Women Anchors	126	57 (45.2)	12 (9.5)	57 (45.2)
Men Anchors	117	25 (21.4)	27 (23.1)	65 (55.6)